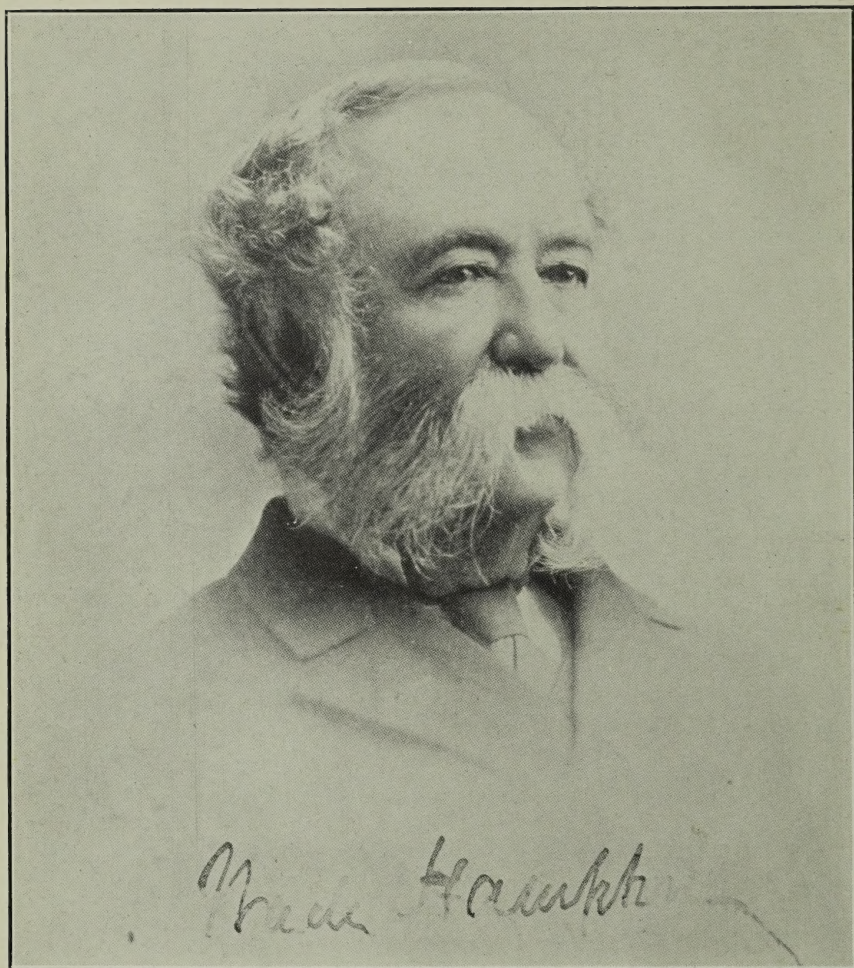


The
SLAVE TRADE
Slavery and Color

THEODORE D. JERVEY



WADE HAMPTON, 1889

"The diffusion of the Negroes? It would deprive us of much of our labor and make it a little harder for the present generation, but it would be the salvation of the future."

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THE SLAVE TRADE

Slavery and Color

BY
THEODORE D. JERVEY

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TO
A. S. SALLEY, JR.

*Secretary of the Historical Commission
of South Carolina*

whose friendship has stood the test of
time and whose exact knowledge, those
standing high among the scholars of
American history have recognized, this
book is dedicated.

INTRODUCTORY

The following pages, from which an excerpt was published in 1913, under the title—The Railroad The Conqueror—constitute an attempt to put within short compass the main causes of the shifting sectionalism of the people of the United States.

The facts and assertions upon which this sketch is based have, with others not included, been gathered and pondered for at least sixteen years, during which period, much at times interwoven, has, from time to time been cut, for fear that consideration of such might lead the thoughts of the possible reader away from the main theme.

As to the workmanship few can see more clearly than the author, how much better that could have been, had he who undertook it been accommodated with more leisure and equipped with scholarship and means. Yet it is doubtful if any one could have approached the task and pursued it through the years which have intervened between its inception and completion with a firmer determination to present the truth and nothing but the truth, as the writer saw and still sees it.

To publish what is herein set out, in this day of rampant commercialism and often unconscious intolerance, requires character and courage in a publisher.

On the other hand, submission to some, holding themselves out as publishers and soliciting manuscripts, involves occasional risk, and in this connection, the author feels that he would be lacking in ordinary gratitude, did he not record the rescue

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of this manuscript, in an earlier form, from the clutch of a publishing house, which having obtained it on solicitation, for perusal and consideration, on terms declined, held it for a year, in spite of repeated requests for its return, replied to repeatedly, with untruthful assertions that it had been sent back. Without any knowledge of or interest in the contents, a stranger, to whose inquiries concerning local history, the author, from time to time had replied, C. W. Lewis, Esq., residing in the vicinity of the disreputable publishing house, upon request, by a personal call, forced the delivery of the manuscript and returned it to the author. Now complete it is submitted to the public without further comment to speak for itself.

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CHAPTER I

In consideration of much that appears in the numerous contributions to the discussion of the Negro Question, it must be noticeable that in recent years, there has been quite a broadening of the field, and that, from what was in the past, mainly a question of slavery or freedom, for one particular class of people, in one great country, we have advanced to a consideration of what may effect the entire world in that, which has been entitled by some: "The Conflict of Color," and by others not quite so pessimistic: "The Question of the Twentieth Century, the Question of Color."

In such circumstances, an examination of the evolution of this question and a recital of some of the phases under which it has been brought up for discussion in the history of the United States, may tend to correct some misapprehensions and throw some additional light upon a subject, which, in spite of the efforts to suppress it, is continually forcing itself upon the attention of the world.

While freely admitting the impossibility of discussing this subject, within any reasonable limits, without necessarily omitting mention of many publications, containing an amount of extremely valuable information, the aim of this work will be to trace the evolution of the question as it has appeared, in the expression of both whites and Negroes, in that country in which public opinion is said

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to exercise the greatest influence upon government. In undertaking such an examination it would be hardly necessary to make any very close scrutiny of the Colonial period, from the fact that while there was opinion that found expression in acts, statements and laws, the colonies, being under the control of Great Britain, were subjected to her policies and representative of her civilization. The extraordinary case therefore of a Massachusetts slave-owner, Maverick, who simply for breeding purposes, in 1636, forced an African woman of high rank, owned by him, to accept the embraces of a common young Negro¹ was but a way of expressing contempt for the race. The Maryland Act of 1663, a far less coarse expression, involved all white women who failed to entertain it. In Stroud's "Sketch of the laws of Slavery," published in 1827, we find on page 2:

"Section 2. And forasmuch as divers free born English women forgetful of their free condition, and to the disgrace of our nation do intermarry with Negro slaves" such "free born women . . . shall serve the master of such slave during the life of her husband and all the issue of such free born women, so married shall be slaves as their fathers were."

Yet despite these two striking illustrations at these early dates, broadly speaking, we might claim that in British America "up to 1700 and perhaps beyond, the sentiment North and South concerning the Negro or his enslavement differed but slightly; for while the South Carolina Act of 1690 did provide severe regulations for Negro and Indian slaves, a

¹Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, p. 361.

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study of the statutes from 1698”² “and later of the press, indicates a sentiment against the importation of Negroes, which however was forced upon that province, as upon others, by the British Government.”³

The Revolutionary war, which shook off this controlling force, associated the States together, under the Articles of Confederation, thus paving the way for that great experiment, the Constitutional Federal Republic, which succeeded it.

It was in the deliberations of the great Convention, which framed that “more perfect union”, that the Negro question really first arose, as a matter of vital political concern; nor among all the questions which confronted that extraordinary body, did there appear a graver one, than that affecting the status of the colored people of the Union.

This class represented, at that time, about one-fifth of the population of the thirteen States, which it was the aim to unite, or 737,208 blacks as against 3,172,006 whites⁴, and while of these 737,208 colored persons some 59,527 were free, in every one of the thirteen States, except Massachusetts, there were slaves, and in only one State, outside of New England, Pennsylvania, were free persons of color more numerous than slaves.

In eight of the thirteen States the Negro slaves greatly outnumbered the free persons of color; while in still another, with a total of 5,572 colored persons, the colored freedmen exceeded the slaves by only 54.

²Statutes of S. C., Vols. 2 & 7, pp. 153, 367, 370.

³S. C. Gazette, Feb. 26, 1732, McCrady, S. C. under the Royal Government, p. 378.

⁴Compendium of the Ninth Census of the United States, p. 13.

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Under these conditions, it was not unnatural that the question should have presented itself as one of slavery versus freedom, rather than Negroes versus whites, and for the seventy years in which slavery continued to exist, that fact served to obscure, to quite an extent, the appreciation of the distinct question of color and race. Yet by some, at an exceedingly early date, it was recognized, that apart from the consideration of how they might be held, the mere presence in the Republic of a large and growing number of people of an inferior race, presented a serious problem.

When the consideration of the basis upon which Federal representation should rest, and direct taxes be apportioned, was reached, the framers of the Constitution found themselves, therefore, confronted with a political question of the first magnitude, in the existence of the slave trade.

What was the slave? A man or a chattel?

The question was precipitated by a clause in the report of the committee of detail, presented by John Rutledge, of South Carolina, "Article 7, Section 4. "No tax or duty shall be laid by the Legislature on articles exported from any State nor on the migration or importation of such persons as the several States shall think proper to admit, nor shall such migration or importation be prohibited."⁵

In the light of what followed, of the existing legislation upon that subject in the State of South Carolina, and the history of the province and State, the introduction of the concluding clause of this

⁵Farrand. Records of the Federal Convention, Vol. 2, p. 183.

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section by her most distinguished representative was unfortunate. It gave rise to declarations concerning the State which not only do not seem to have been absolutely borne out by the facts; but which the actions and votes of her deputies themselves, to some extent stultified; yet the State was nevertheless stamped with an unenviable precedence in a matter in which she cast but one of the seven votes, in a total of eleven, by which the final decision was arrived at.

In the discussion which immediately arose upon the introduction of the report, four views with regard to this clause found expression.

Luther Martin, of Maryland, a Representative from a State, which, as will subsequently be shown, could have then been described as the most complete slave State of the thirteen, had nevertheless the discernment to realize the dangers of such a condition, and proposed to alter the section, so as to allow a prohibition or tax on the importation of slaves. He presented three grounds of objection to the denial of such: "1. As five slaves are to be counted as three free-men in the apportionment of Representatives, such a clause would leave an encouragement of the traffic. 2. Slaves weakened one part of the Union, which the other parts were bound to protect; the privilege of importing them was, therefore, unreasonable. 3. It was inconsistent with the principles of the Revolution and dishonorable to the American character to have such features in the Constitution."

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In defending the clause Mr. Rutledge was not conciliatory. He "did not see how the importation of slaves could be encouraged by this section. He was not apprehensive of insurrections and would readily exempt the other States from their obligations to protect the Southern States against them. Religion and humanity had nothing to do with the question. Interest alone is the governing principle with nations. The true question at present is whether the Southern States shall or shall not be parties to the Union. If the Northern States consult their interest they will not oppose the increase of slaves which will increase the commodities of which they will become the consumers."

Mr. Ellsworth of Connecticut supported the clause in an argument pitched upon the same utilitarian plane, but strengthened with what was an assertion of the doctrine of States rights. He "was for leaving the clause as it stands. Let every State import what it pleases. The morality or wisdom of slavery are considerations belonging to the States themselves. What enriches a part enriches the whole, and the States are the best judges of their particular interests. The old Confederation had not meddled with this point and he did not see any greater necessity for bringing it within the policy of the new one."

Mr. Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, while upholding the view of Mr. Rutledge, held out a hope of subsequent accord. He said "South Carolina can never receive the plan, if it prohibits the slave trade. In every proposed extension of the powers

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of Congress, that State has expressly and watchfully excepted that of meddling with the importation of Negroes. If the States be all left at liberty on the subject, South Carolina may perhaps by degrees do of herself what is wished, as Virginia and Maryland have already done.”⁶

Upon the following day the discussion was resumed.

Mr. Sherman, of Connecticut, “was for leaving the clause as it stands. He disapproved of the slave trade; yet as the States were now possessed of the right to import slaves, as the public good did not require it to be taken from them and as it was expedient to have as few objections as possible to the proposed scheme of Government, thought it best to leave the matter as we found it. He observed that the abolition of slavery seemed to be going on in the United States, and that the good sense of the several States would probably by degrees complete it. He urged upon the Convention the necessity of dispatching its business.”

Col. Mason, of Virginia, took very high ground. He declared: “This infernal traffic originated in the avarice of the British merchants. The British Government constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to it. The present question concerns not the importing States alone, but the whole Union. The evil of having slaves was experienced during the late war. Had slaves been treated as they might have been by the enemy, they would have proved dangerous instruments in their hands. But

⁶Farrand. Records of the Federal Convention, Vol. 2, p. 364.

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their folly dealt by the slaves as it did by the Tories. He mentioned the dangerous insurrections of the slaves in Greece and Sicily, and the instructions given by Cromwell to the commissioners sent to Virginia to arm the servants and slaves in case other means of obtaining submission should fail. Maryland and Virginia, he said, had already prohibited the importation of slaves expressly. North Carolina had done the same in substance. All this would be vain, if South Carolina and Georgia be at liberty to import. The Western people are already calling out for slaves in their new lands, and will fill that country with slaves, if they can be got through South Carolina and Georgia. Slavery discourages arts and manufactures. The poor despise labor when performed by slaves. They prevent the immigration of whites, who really enrich and strengthen a country. They produce the most pernicious effect on morals. Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant. They bring the judgment of Heaven on a country. As nations cannot be rewarded or punished in the next world they must be in this. By an inevitable chain of causes and effects Providence punishes national sins by national calamities. He lamented that some of our Eastern brethren had, from a lust of gain, embarked in this nefarious traffic. As to the States being in possession of the right to import, this was the case with many other rights now to be properly given up. He held it essential in every point of view that the General Government should have power to prevent the increase of slavery."

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Mr. Ellsworth spoke again, and quite to the point: "As he had never owned a slave, could not judge of the effect of slavery on character. He said, however, that if it was to be considered in a moral light, we ought to go further and free those already in the country. As slaves also multiply so fast in Virginia and Maryland that it is cheaper to raise than import them, whilst in the sickly swamps foreign supplies are necessary. If we go no further than is urged we shall be unjust to South Carolina and Georgia. Let us not intermeddle. As population increases, poor laborers will be so plenty as to render slaves useless. Slavery in time will not be a speck in our country. Provision is already made in Connecticut for abolishing it. And the abolition has already taken place in Massachusetts. As to the danger of insurrection from foreign influence that will become a motive to kind treatment of the slaves."

Mr. Charles Pinckney said: "If slavery be wrong it is justified by the example of all the world. He cited the case of Greece, Rome and other States; the sanction given by France, England, Holland and other modern States. In all ages one half of mankind have been slaves. If the Southern States were left alone they will probably of themselves stop importation. He would himself, as a citizen of South Carolina, vote for it. An attempt to take away the right, as proposed, will produce serious objections to the Constitution which he wished to see adopted."

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Gen. C. C. Pinckney "declared it to be his firm opinion that if himself and all his colleagues were to sign the Constitution and use their personal influence it would be of no avail towards obtaining the assent of their constituents. South Carolina and Georgia cannot do without slaves. As to Virginia, she will gain by stopping the importations. Her slaves will rise in value and she has more than she wants. It would be unequal to require South Carolina and Georgia to confederate on such unequal terms. He said the royal assent before the Revolution had never been refused to South Carolina as to Virginia. He contended that the importation of Slaves would be for the interest of the Whole Union. The more slaves the more produce to employ the carrying trade. The more consumption also, and the more of this the more of revenue for the common treasury. He admitted it to be reasonable that slaves should be dutied like other imports, but should consider a rejection of the clause as an exclusion of South Carolina from the Union."

Mr. Baldwin, of Georgia, "had conceived national objects alone to be before the Convention, not such as like the present were of a local nature. Georgia was decided on this point. That State has always hitherto supposed a General Government to be the pursuit of the central States who wished to have a vortex for everything—that her distance would preclude her from equal advantage—and that she could not prudently purchase it by yielding national powers. From this it might be understood in what light she would view an attempt to abridge her favorite

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prerogative. If left to herself she may probably put a stop to the evil. As one ground for this conjecture he took notice of the sect of which he said was a respectable class of people who carried their ethics beyond the mere equality of men, extending their humanity to the claims of the whole animal creation."

Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, "observed that if South Carolina and Georgia were themselves disposed to get rid of the importation of slaves in a short time, as had been suggested, they would never refuse to unite because the importation might be prohibited. As the section now stands all articles imported are to be taxed. Slaves alone are exempt. This is in fact a bounty on that article."

Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts, "thought we had nothing to do with the conduct of the States as to slaves, but ought to be careful not to give any sanction to it."

Mr. Dickinson, of Delaware, "considered it as inadmissible on every principle of honor and safety that the importation of slaves should be authorized to the States by the Constitution. The true question was whether the national happiness would be promoted or impeded by the importation, and the question ought to be left to the National Government, not to the States particularly interested. If England and France permit slavery, slaves are at the same time excluded from both these kingdoms. Greece and Rome were made unhappy by their slaves. He could not believe that the Southern States would refuse to confederate on the account

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apprehended; especially as the power was not likely to be immediately exercised by the General Government."

Mr. Williamson, of North Carolina, "stated the law of North Carolina on the subject, to wit, that it did not directly prohibit the importation of slaves. It imposed a duty of five pounds on each slave imported from Africa. Ten pounds on each from elsewhere, and fifty pounds on each from a State licensing manumission. He thought the Southern States could not be members of the Union if the clause should be rejected, and that it was wrong to force anything down not absolutely necessary and which any State must disagree to."

Mr. King, of Massachusetts, "thought the subject should be considered in a political light only. If two States will not agree to the Constitution as stated on one side, he could affirm with equal belief on the other that great and equal opposition would be experienced from the other States. He remarked on the exemption of slaves from duty, while every other import was subjected to it, as an inequality that could not fail to strike the commercial sagacity of the Northern and Middle States."

Mr. Langdon, of New Hampshire, "was strenuous for giving the power to the General Government. He could not with a good conscience leave it with the States who could then go on with the traffic, without being restrained by the opinion here given that they will themselves cease to import slaves."

Gen. Pinckney, "thought himself bound to declare candidly that he did not think South Carolina would

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stop her importation of slaves in any short time, but only stop them occasionally as she now does. He moved to commit the clause that slaves might be made liable to an equal tax with other imports, which he thought right, and which would remove one difficulty that had been started."

Mr. Rutledge remarked: "If the Convention thinks that North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia will ever agree to the plan, unless their right to import slaves be untouched, the expectation is vain. The people of these States will never be such fools as to give up so important an interest. He was strenuous against striking out the section and seconded the motion of Gen. Pinckney for a commitment."

Mr. Gouverneur Morris, of Pennsylvania, "wished the whole subject to be committed, including the clauses relating to taxes on exports, and on a Navigation Act. These things may form a bargain among the Northern and Southern States."

Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, declared, "that he would never agree to the power of taxing exports."

Mr. Sherman said: "It was better to let the Southern States import slaves than to part with them, if they made that a *sine qua non*. He was opposed to a tax on slaves imported as making the matter worse, because it implied they were property. He acknowledged that if the power of prohibiting the importation should be given to the General Government that it would be exercised. He thought it would be its duty to exercise the power."

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Mr. Reed, of Delaware, "was for the commitment provided the clause concerning taxes on exports should also be committed."

Mr. Sherman, observed: "that that clause had been agreed to and therefore could not be committed."

Mr. Randolph, of Virginia, "was for committing in order that some middle ground, if possible, be found. He could never agree to the clause as it stands. He would sooner risk the Constitution. He dwelt on the dilemma to which the Constitution was exposed by agreeing to the clause it would revolt the Quakers, the Methodists and many others in the States having no slaves. On the other hand, two States might be lost to the Union. Let us then," he said, "try the chance of a commitment."⁷

On the question of committing, the vote was: New Hampshire, no; Massachusetts, abstaining from voting; Connecticut, aye; New Jersey, aye; Pennsylvania, no; Delaware, no; Maryland, aye; Virginia, aye; North Carolina, aye; South Carolina, aye; Georgia, aye;⁸ In a total of eleven States at Convention seven ayes, three noes, one not voting.

The clause having been referred to a committee consisting of Messrs. Langdon, King, Johnson, Livingston, Clymer, Dickinson, L. Martin, Madison, Williamson, C. C. Pinckney, and Baldwin, the committee reported in favor of the clause, with an amendment making it read: "The migration or importation of such persons as the several States now exist-

⁷Farrand. Records of the Federal Convention, Vol. 2, pp. 369, 374.

⁸Ibid. p. 374.

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ing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Legislature prior to the year 1800, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such migration or importation at a rate not exceeding the average of the duties laid on imports.”⁹

Gen. Pinckney moved to strike out the words “the year 1800 and to insert the words eighteen hundred and eight.”

Mr. Gorham, of Massachusetts, seconded the motion. This action brought from one, who up to that time does not appear to have participated in the discussion, Mr. Madison, the declaration that: “twenty years will produce all the mischief that can be apprehended from the liberty to import slaves. So long a term will be more dishonorable to the national character than to say nothing about it in the Constitution.”¹⁰

The reported clause had been referred to the committee against the vote of New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. Virginia and New Jersey both opposed the amendment; but as it received the vote of both New Hampshire and Massachusetts, which had not voted for the commitment, it was supported by seven out of the eleven States, the three New England States present and four of the five Southern States, the three Middle States present, and one Southern State, opposing.

While reasonable men must always be alive to the necessity of compromise, and while also the great

⁹Ibid. p. 400.

Prof. Farrand renders “abst” absent, which the context contradicts. King of Massachusetts, was put on the committee.

¹⁰Farrand. Records of the Federal Convention, Vol. 2, p. 415.

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responsibilities of the situation concerning this matter are apparent, yet this most important discussion and vote establishes some facts, with regard to the constitutional Union, which the honest historian cannot disregard.

First: The migration or importation of Negroes was prohibited in spite of the declaration of the representatives of the three Southern States, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, that some of the Southern States could not accept the Constitution if it did.

Second: A tax upon the importation was imposed through the aid of the vote of New England, whose representatives had warned the Convention that it would be a recognition of slavery to tax importation. The claim, therefore made, that South Carolina and Georgia forced the recognition of the slave trade is not borne out by the facts in the case. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia followed the suggestion of Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania, and, abandoning the principles for which they had contended, "formed a bargain" by which the slave trade was surrendered for the recognition of slavery by the Constitution.

Upon considering the discussion, although Ellsworth's shrewd criticism crippled, to some extent, the lofty flight of Mason of Virginia, yet the speech of the latter puts him upon a higher plane of statesmanship than that occupied by any deputy present. On the other hand, no matter how high their reputations otherwise may have been established, none

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descended to so low a plane as King, of Massachusetts and Rutledge of South Carolina; while no individual exhibited as much ignorance of the existing situation as he, who by the temperance of his utterance and the influence of his high personal character, most thoroughly mastered it.

Gen. C. C. Pinckney did not seem to know that South Carolina had not been permitted by Great Britain to throw off the slave trade, when, as a province, she sought to do so,¹¹ or that the sentiment of the people of his State, even while he was speaking, had found expression in an Act which prohibited the bringing into the State of "any Negro slave contrary to the Act to regulate the recovery of debts and prohibiting the importation of Negroes"¹² and which was sufficiently strong even after the above compromise to negative, by a vote of 93 to 40, Gillon's attempt in the South Carolina Legislature in 1788, to repeal the law prohibiting importation.¹³ No severer criticism of the General's statesmanship on this point was ever promulgated than that, thirty-four years later, which his devoted brother, Gen. Thomas Pinckney, furnished, in some reflections, published by him¹⁴ without any thought of how positively they ran counter to the dictum of his brother—"South Carolina and Georgia cannot do without slaves"—he warned South Carolinians that Negro artisans were taking the places of whites.

¹¹S. C. Gazette, Feb. 19, 1782, Stat. S. C. Vol. 7, pp. 367-370. McCrady, S. C. Under the Royal Government, p. 378.

¹²Stat. S. C. Vol. 7, p. 430.

¹³State Gazette, Jan. 28, 1788.

¹⁴Jervey, Robert Y. Hayne and His Times, p. 130.

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But, turning from this discussion, it is of importance to consider just how the Negro population of the United States was located at the time of the adoption of the Constitution.

By the census taken in 1790 it was indicated that about six-sevenths of the entire colored population of the thirteen States constituting the Union, inhabited the four States of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, of which about one-half were found in Virginia, the population in the order of their numbers being as follows: Virginia 305,493; Maryland 111,099; South Carolina, 108,895; North Carolina, 105,547. The Negro population of Georgia at that date was but slightly in excess of the Negro population of New York, being only 29,662 to New York's 25,978, while in the region north of Maryland there were nearly three times as many Negroes as in the region south of South Carolina.

Considering the percentage of blacks to whites in the different sections, South Carolina had the greatest, with a colored population rising as high as 44 per cent of the total. Virginia came second, with a percentage of 41, Georgia was third, with 36; Maryland fourth, with 35; North Carolina fifth, with 27; Delaware sixth, with 26; New Jersey seventh, with 9; New York eighth, with 8; Rhode Island ninth, with 7, and Pennsylvania tenth, with less than three per cent.

There is still another standpoint, however, from which this population might be considered; that is with regard to the area of the State containing the

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same, and considered in this light, Maryland, with a Negro population in excess of that of South Carolina, and with an area of only one-third, was the most distinct Negro State of the Union. Delaware came second, and Virginia third. In the two States of Maryland and Virginia, with a combined area of 79,124 square miles, there was considerably more than one-half of the colored population of the United States, 416,572. In the region to the south, embracing the three States of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, with an area of 143,040 square miles, there were as yet but 244,104 Negroes, or about one-third of the number, considered with regard to the area they inhabited, which makes very obvious the contention of Ellsworth that the abrogation of the slave trade would have operated as a distinct commercial benefit to Maryland and Virginia, enabling them to supply to the region south of them, at enhanced prices, the slaves they might raise for market.

Virginia, Maryland and Delaware then constituted at this time the black belt, containing, as they did, four-sevenths of the colored population of the Union, three-fourths of the remainder being in the region below and one-fourth above.

In the first decade of the Constitution the density of this colored population in Virginia and Maryland was actually increased; while, at the same time, through an extraordinary accession to her white population, in spite of great gains to the colored, South Carolina's colored percentage decreased, and it is on this account that what happened in the next

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decade of the Constitution in South Carolina is of so much importance. A consideration of these events will show, that, in spite of the declaration of her great deputies, that "South Carolina could not do without slaves," and that her people "would never be such fools as to give up so important an interest" as "their right to import slaves," they not only proposed to give up the right, but strove earnestly to do so, and only after thirty years of unavailing effort, accompanied by an ever increasing investment in that class of property, did the strong minority, which had opposed it, acquiesce in Calhoun's most unwise view, that the blacks furnished "the best substratum of population, upon which great and flourishing Commonwealths may be most easily and safely reared."¹⁵

Once it was accepted, the march was steadily on to disaster.

¹⁵Calhoun's Correspondence, p. 369.

CHAPTER II

Following Gillon's unsuccessful attempt in 1788, to repeal the existing law, the State of South Carolina, by successive enactments, in spite of the implied sanction of the Constitution until 1808, prohibited the importation of slaves¹⁶ up to the year 1803. In that year Governor James B. Richardson, in his annual message to the General Assembly, indirectly suggested the repeal of such legislation.

The language of this message is so involved that, considered without reference to its effect, it seems to indicate some sympathy with the prohibition of the importation; but carefully considered, the secret sympathy of this official with those he condemns is obvious. The promptness with which it was seized upon by the opponents of prohibition, and the arguments culled from it, indicate that it was the opening wedge by which the defence against the black flood, was split, to admit it in such volume, as to make subsequent efforts to stop the flow almost useless.

That portion of the message which dealt with the importation of Negro slaves reads as follows:

"All possible diligence and my best efforts have been used to carry effectually into operation the law prohibiting the importation of Negroes into the State, but it is with concern that I have here to state to you, that it has been without success; whether it must be attributed principally to the ill consequences that are apprehended would result

¹⁶Stat. S. C. Vol. 7 pp. 431-448.

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from carrying the law into operation by emancipating the Negroes so brought in (a remedy deemed more mischievous than the evil of their introduction in servitude) or whether the interests of the citizens is so interwoven with that species of property, that it prevents their aiding the law in answering the salutary purposes, I will not presume to determine; but I am inclined to believe both causes operate as preventatives; for those people are continued to be brought into the State beyond the possibility of prevention. In all laws intended for the general benefit, they should be so calculated that their operation should be found equal in every part of the State; where this is not the case it means that there is some radical defect therein, or it is inimical to the interest of the citizens; with this law such is the situation; for in the present state of things, the citizens in the frontier and sea coast districts do accumulate this property without the possibility of being detected, while those of the interior and middle districts only experience the operation of that law from their remote situation, etc. . . . This indeed is a circumstance to be lamented, but such is the true state of our situation and therefore becomes a subject worthy of your consideration and one that I trust will engage your endeavors to render equally energetic in every part of the State that law which experience has proved partial in its operation and is oppressive upon such citizens in the interior districts as hold it the object of desire to augment their capital in the accumulation of such property.”¹⁷

¹⁷*Charleston Courier*, December 5, 1803.

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This expression of opinion from the Governor brought up in the House the appointment of "a committee to inquire whether any and what amendments are necessary, to the Act entitled, 'An Act to prevent Negro slaves from being brought into or entering this State'¹⁸; in the Senate a bill to permit their importation.¹⁹

The leading opponent in the Senate of the bill to permit importation was State Senator Robert Barnwell, at that time in his forty-second year. He had served with credit in the Revolutionary war, in the course of which he had been seriously wounded; had been a delegate to the Continental Congress; and later a member of Congress from the 2nd Congressional district of South Carolina, later still he had been elected Speaker of the South Carolina House of Representatives.²⁰ He is described by Edward Hooker as "a tall, portly, well-built man of about sixty years—a man of singular gravity, and possessed of great influence in the Senate. Said to be an eminent orator and very religious character."²¹

A synopsis of Mr. Barnwell's remarks on this occasion has been preserved, although, as became more and more the custom with regard to all utterances concerning slavery, in any way critical, much was suppressed. The account reads as follows: "He maintained that by the immense influx of these persons into the State, the value of this species of property would be considerably diminished, insomuch

¹⁸Ibid. December 6, 1803.

¹⁹Ibid. December 13, 1803.

²⁰S. C. Hist. & Genealog. Mag. Vol. 2, p. 72.

²¹Annual Report American Hist. Ass. 1896, Vol. 1, p. 870.

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that he did believe Negroes would be soon not worth one half of what they might be sold for. The value of the produce raised by their labor would be in like manner depreciated. * * * The permission given by the bill would lead to ruinous speculation. Everyone would purchase Negroes. It was well known that those who dealt in this property would sell it at a very long credit. Our citizens would purchase at all hazards and trust to fortunate crops and favorable markets for making their payments and it would be found that South Carolina would in a few years, if this trade continued open, be in the same situation of debt, and subject to all the misfortunes which that situation had produced as at the conclusion of the Revolutionary war. The honorable member adduced in support of his opinion other arguments still more cogent and impressive, which from reasons very obvious, we decline making public."²²

The most prominent advocate of the bill was State Senator William Smith, the schoolmate of Andrew Jackson, later judge, and, later still, United States Senator, the most determined of Calhoun's political opponents in after years. He was a native of North Carolina, of somewhat indefinite age, a reformed drunkard; but a man of firmness and power, and also of pleasing appearance.²³

The report of his remarks upon this occasion is brevity itself, but sufficient to condemn him, as it is apparent that in a spirit of pessimism he voted

²²*Charleston Courier*, December 26, 1803.

²³Jervey, Robert Y. Hayne & His Times, p. 148.

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against his convictions. The report is: "Mr. Smith said he would agree to put a stop to the importation of Negroes but he believed it to be impossible. For this reason he would vote for the bill."²⁴ The House had meantime reported that "the laws prohibiting the importation of Negroes can be so amended as to prevent their introduction among us," but a strong faction were for action on the Senate bill. "Mr. Drayton was of the opinion that the committee should proceed to consider the bill from the Senate rather than the report of the committee of this House. He confessed that he was a friend to that bill in its utmost latitude. Many of the planters had cash which they could not so well dispose of as in purchasing Negroes, and he did not see why they should not be allowed to improve their estates in the best manner they were able, as well as merchants or any other class of persons."²⁵

The House was not, however, swayed from its course. It proceeded to consider the report of the committee, and a bill in accordance therewith was arranged to be brought before the House on the 12th. On that date, upon a motion to postpone the second reading to February 1, 1804, the same was lost by a vote of 41 to 63; and upon the following day the bill from the Senate came up, and, by a vote of 55 to 46, became a law.²⁶ With the majority appears only one great name, Langdon Cheves. With the minority is recorded the name of a new member, Joseph Alston, destined to something of a career,

²⁴*Charleston Courier*, December 26, 1803.

²⁵*Ibid.* January 2, 1804.

²⁶*City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, December 21, 1803.

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who on this occasion, in opposition to the bill permitting importation, made a notable speech.²⁷

From the achievement of her independence in 1783, South Carolina had legislated against the importation of Negro slaves with greater and greater severity. The indications are all that this reversal of her past policy was the result of the matter having been sprung as a surprise by Governor Richardson in the second year of his term of office, when the Senate was two to one in favor of such action as he suggested, and even in the more popular branch of the Legislature a majority of nine in one hundred and one votes could be secured. Under these conditions, that a strong effort should have been at once inaugurated by those who opposed the importation, to repeal the Act permitting same was natural, and, upon the reassembling of the Legislature in the fall of 1804, a bill having such for its purpose was introduced, pressed to a vote in the Senate, and lost by only one vote, the record being 16 for, 17 against repeal of Act permitting importation, and two absent.²⁸

Four days later the House went into committee on the following resolution: "Resolved, that in the opinion of this House, it is inexpedient and impolitic to permit the importation of slaves into this State, and that a committee of five be appointed to bring in a bill for that purpose."²⁹ The resolution was adopted by a vote of 69 to 39, and among the names of the majority appears that of William

²⁷Memoirs of Aaron Burr, Vol. 2, p. 270.

²⁸*Charleston Courier*, December 12, 1804.

²⁹*Ibid.* December 24, 1804.

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Lowndes. Thus the two Houses being unable to agree before adjournment, it was to be inferred, from the heavy majority in the House, against importation and the extremely narrow margin by which it had been sustained in the Senate, the fight would again be made, at the convening of the Legislature, in the fall of 1805. And so it was, for upon its reassembling Governor Paul Hamilton at once and pointedly referred to the subject in his message: "I should be wanting in my endeavors towards the public good were I to omit soliciting you to legislate on the importation of slaves. Abstractedly from other considerations of it, on which indeed much may be said, I feel myself bound to represent its continuance as productive of effects the most injurious, in draining us of our specie, thereby embarrassing our commercial men and naturally lessening the sales of our produce; that viewed with reference to population it increases our weakness not our strength; for it must be admitted that in proportion as you add to the number of slaves, you prevent the influx of those men who would increase the means of defence and security. I will add, that an immediate stop to this traffic is, in my judgment, on every principle of sound policy, indispensable."³⁰

The message at once engaged the attention of the newly elected House, to the Speakership of which Joseph Alston had been elected. The young Speaker was a most interesting personality. His father, with perhaps one exception, was the largest slave-owner in the State, and of the latter, we are in-

³⁰*Charleston Courier*, December 2, 1805.

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formed, that "in his opinion the true interests of the planter were in exact accord with the dictates of an enlightened humanity. The consequence was that his numerous plantations were models of neatness and order and his slaves always exhibited an appearance of health and comfort, which spoke well for their treatment."³¹

This election to the Speakership was the beginning of a political career for Joseph Alston, which soon led to the Governorship and might well have extended into national fields, had it not been for the tragedy which cut it short. He had just married Theodosia Burr, the fascinating and accomplished daughter of Aaron Burr. But the death of his only son in 1812 and almost immediately after, the loss of his wife at sea, seemed literally to destroy all his interest in life and take it from him. This debate in 1805, in which he was the foremost figure, is alluded to in the diary of Edward Hooker, by whom we are informed that the principle speakers in the House were Simons, Alston, Miles, Taylor and Wright. The resolution under consideration, as drawn up by Joseph Alston, was prefaced with several considerations, such as the inconsistency of the slave trade with the precepts of Christianity—with justice, humanity, etc., and later with the true interests of the State. In the argument of Mr. Miles, of Richland, appear the extraordinary insinuations of Governor Richardson, as to the injustice of the law with regard to those who found it difficult to violate it, and whom it did prohibit

³¹Jervey, Robert Y. Hayne & His Times, p. 534.

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from importing slaves. Of the members of the House and Senate who sufficiently struck the attention of Hooker to draw from him something like a pen portrait, Barnwell, Lowndes and Alston stand out the clearest. He estimated Alston to be about twenty-eight years of age. He was not quite twenty-seven. He describes him thus: "Mr. Alston is a short man and rather thick. Of a dark complexion, with thick black hair and a formidable pair of whiskers, that cover a great part of his face, and nearly meet at the chin. His dress and demeanor are well deserving the name buckish. When not in the legislative hall, he may be seen as often as anywhere, about the stables, looking at fine horses, dressed in a short jockey-like surtout or frock, and laced and tossed boots, with a segar in his mouth, and much more of the 'gig and tandem' levity than the austere virtues of a senatorial leader. Indeed he is one of the last persons that I should have picked out from the crowd of people in town for a president of one branch of the Legislature."

Of the speech he says: "Alston's speech appears to me more like an extemporaneous one, though it is said by such as are acquainted with him that he always, without exception, writes his speeches. He like Simons, used notes, but did not recur to them so often; nor did he confine himself so much to method, nor avoid so scrupulously every expression not stamped with elegance, yet his arrangement was not bad, nor his language undignified. He did not at first speak with uncommon fluency, indeed he stammered a little, but when he became once fairly en-

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gaged his words appeared to flow with great ease. His figures and allusions were eminently striking and beautiful, and his speech abounded with them. He dropped some excellent moral and political sentiments, quoted two or three texts of sublime morality from the Scriptures, and with great vehemence and apparent sincerity urged the House to consult the dictates of justice and humanity, in opposition to sordid interest. His manner of delivery was extremely good and his gestures forcible and expressive. He labored some time, and with success, to show that the increase of slaves tends to destroy that equality which is the basis of our republican institutions and insists that it is not only unjust to bring them in, but demonstrably injurious to the real interests of the State. In his argument was a fund of good sense and useful information. The utmost silence pervaded the House while he spoke thirty-five or forty minutes."³²

The resolution was adopted, and the bill prohibiting importation was sent to the Senate by a vote of 56 to 28.³³

Later, by the same pen, we have a brief description of the last speech upon this bill of that Senator, who in opposition to it, may be said to have cast the most important vote he was ever called upon to give.

Allusion has been before made to the brief reason given by Senator William Smith for his vote, for opening the ports to importation of slaves, which he declared himself not in favor of, but thought it im-

³²Annual Report American Hist. Assn. 1896, Vol. 1, p. 868.

³³*Charleston Courier*, December 13, 1805.

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possible to prevent, in 1803, when he, constituting one of the majority of two to one in that branch of the General Assembly, voted to open them. Public opinion had swept away that great majority, and from the House, with just such a vote, two to one, the bill to prohibit came to the Senate. The following is Hooker's description of the situation, and the part played by Smith:

"The bill having passed the lower House, the public feeling is excited about its event here. Mr. Smith, a lawyer from York District, made a long and rather tedious speech against it. He is not fluent, nor does he use the handsomest language, but in the course of his argument gets out considerable that is to the purpose."³⁴

Smith's vote was sufficient to kill the bill. It failed of passage by 15 to 16 in the Senate.³⁵ He thus, by his vote alone made impossible, what he claimed to favor, but declined to support, because he asserted he believed to be impossible. Later in the United States Senate he disclosed, that in the four years he thus secured for the slave trade to pour its flood upon South Carolina, in 202 vessels, 39,075 slaves were brought into the port of Charleston³⁶ for which he had the effrontery to hold almost everybody but himself responsible. This disastrous piece of legislation increased the Negro population of South Carolina in that decade 41 per cent, against an increase of only 9 per cent whites, and checked almost entirely the remarkable increase of whites,

³⁴Annual Report American Hist. Assn. Vol. 1, p. 878, 1896.

³⁵*Charleston Courier*, December 9, 1805.

³⁶Charleston Year Book, 1880, p. 263.

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which had marked the previous decade. As to the effect upon the business of Charleston, in the reminiscence of one of the editors of the daily press, we have an illuminating illustration of the truth of Senator Barnwell's prophecy. Says Mr. Thomas: "In November 1803, I returned from my fourth voyage with a printed catalogue of fifty thousand volumes of books in every branch of literature, arts and sciences, being by far the largest importation ever made into the United States. I had only got them opened and arranged for sale three days when news arrived from Columbia that the Legislature then in session had opened the port for the importation of slaves from Africa. The news had not been five hours in the city before two large British Guineamen that had been laying off and on the port for several days, expecting it, came up to town, and from that day my business began to decline, although then in a situation to carry it on to three times the extent I had ever done before. Previous to this the planters had large sums of money laying idle in the banks, which they liberally expended not only for their actual, but supposed wants. A great change at once took place in everything. Vessels were fitted out in numbers for the coast of Africa, and as fast as they returned their cargoes were bought up with avidity, not only consuming the large funds which had been accumulating, but all that could be procured, and finally exhausting credit and mortgaging the slaves for payment, many of whom were not redeemed for ten years afterwards to my knowledge."³⁷

³⁷Thomas's Reminiscences, Case Tiffany & Burnham, Vol. 2, p. 35.

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On the other hand the State of Ohio, which had been admitted in 1800 with 45,628 whites and only 336 colored, was so disturbed by the growth of its colored population that before they reached in number two thousand, that State passed the notorious Black Laws of January 9, 1805, of which Section 4 reads as follows: "That no black or mulatto person shall hereafter be permitted to be sworn or give evidence in any Court of record or elsewhere in the State in any cause depending or matter of controversy, where either party to the same is a white person, or in any prosecution which shall be instituted in behalf of this State against any white person."³⁸

While South Carolina did not permit the full sweep of such in her Courts,³⁹ holding a free person of color born of a free white woman an admissible witness yet, with such legislation in Ohio, and Indiana, it is not surprising, Fiske, of New York, six years later failed to establish his contention that "color was a mere matter of accident * * * All men were born free and equal"; and that his attempt to reject the Senate amendment to the Orleans bill, i. e. the insertion of the word "white" before the words "free male inhabitants," in defining the electorate, should have been brushed aside by Sheffey, of Virginia, with the simple declaration that "such doctrines would prostrate the civil institutions of Virginia."⁴⁰ It was one thing to protest as Col. Mason did against the slave trade; but, with some

³⁸C. L. Martzoff, Ohio University, Nov. 30, 1909.

³⁹S. C. Reports, Brevard, Vol. 2, p. 145. *State vs. McDowell*.

⁴⁰*Charleston Courier*, February 27, 1811.

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four hundred thousand slaves, double what any other State possessed, Virginia was prepared to contend for her property rights, and the position seems to have been met with acquiescence by Congress.

CHAPTER III

Concerning free persons of color in the United States, of whom there were about 210,000, to 1,550,000 Negro slaves, in 1816, it was asserted, in the petition of the Kentucky Abolition Society to Congress, which asked that a suitable territory should be set apart as asylum for emancipated Negroes and mulattoes, "that when emancipated they were not allowed the privileges of free citizens and were prohibited from emigrating to other States and Territories."⁴¹

Certainly if their testimony could only be received in courts of justice in cases, when not in opposition to the interests of the whites, which was the situation in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, their ability to protect themselves against injury from whites was seriously affected, but, at the same time, that this tiny stream, trickling into Ohio, was thus harshly dammed, the Negroes were pouring into South Carolina in such numbers, that legislation against their introduction from other States and Territories was passed.⁴²

But again the same desire for ephemeral benefits to a class, which had sufficed to overthrow a wise law in 1803, induced action for repeal in 1818, and, with lamentable lack of foresight, the brilliant George McDuffie led the fight for the repeal of the law of 1816.

By the census of 1810, the colored population of South Carolina was 200,919, the white only 214,196.

⁴¹Jervey, Robert Y. Hayne & His Times, p. 67.

⁴²Statutes of S. C. Vol. 7, p. 451.

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With the exception of Louisiana, just admitted, with a colored population of 42,245, and a white population of 34,311, no State in the Union had, proportionately to its white, as great a Negro population as South Carolina. The increase of its colored population had been so accelerated by the mischievous action of Governor Richardson and his supporters in 1803, as to have increased almost two and a half times as much as that of Maryland, the Negro population of which, as has been before pointed out, was greater than that of South Carolina in 1790, and had increased from that day to 1800 in a greater proportion compared to its white population, than South Carolina.

It is true the increase of the colored population of North Carolina had also been very great; but, at the same time, the increase of the white population had been much greater than in South Carolina, and it had had originally so much larger a number of white inhabitants that they were still more than double the number of blacks.

To a large and important portion of South Carolina's legislators, therefore, the evil of this continual increase of the Negro population was apparent, and these under the leadership of Robert Y. Hayne, at that time Speaker of the House, opposed the repeal of the law of 1816.

Unfortunately no Hooker was present to record his impressions of the discussion, and all that we know of this great struggle is, that the Act of 1816 was repealed after "one of the most eloquent and animated debates that has taken place on the floor

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for many years.”⁴³ In the Senate the repeal was only secured by a vote of 22 to 19.

In the year which followed came in Congress the first great sectional struggle over the Missouri Question, involving the right of Southern men to move into the Northwest with their slaves, with regard to which some of them argued, that, in the long run, such diffusion of slaves would not increase their number or result in the extension of slavery, but rather tend to check the increase.

In his contemporaneous publication of speeches from both sides, the editor of Niles' Register regrets his inability to secure a copy of the speech of William Lowndes, which, in all probability would have been the most illuminating exposition of the Southern view, which could have been submitted; but the speech of Tucker, of Virginia, does put forward the idea as about stated; while Sergeant, of Pennsylvania, the leading speaker on the Northern side, combats the same at sufficient length to create the impression, that it was held by more than one. But what is of greater interest is the distinct note of racial inferiority, which Sergeant sounds loudly. It is not only objection to the Negro slave; but to the Negro *per se*; . . . “Nature has placed upon them an unalterable mark . . . They are and must forever remain distinct.”⁴⁴

Senator Smith, who, by his vote in the South Carolina Legislature in 1805 had most materially assisted in setting aside the South Carolina law in

⁴³*Charleston Courier*, Dec. 22, 1818. Jervcy, Hayne, p. 80.

⁴⁴Niles' Register, Vol. 18, p. 383.

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opposition to African importation, while at the same time fatuously declaring that he only did so because he thought it impossible to prevent it, now, in the United States Senate, refused all compromise, declaring that by sanctioning the slave trade in the Constitution, the Federal Government was responsible for existing conditions. But a compromise was effected, and in the year 1820, the Union, then consisting of just double the number of the original thirteen States, adjusted the difference on the Negro Question.

Geographically considered it was apparent that the black belt had slipped a little lower down upon the body politic. The total colored population of the Union was 1,771,856, more than half of whom were to be found in the three States of Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina. In Virginia, 402,031; in South Carolina, 265,301; in North Carolina, 219,629; a total of 886,961. Southwest of this section and south of the Ohio River, the Negro population amounted to 529,856; but in no State in the Union had the increase since 1800 been so enormous as in South Carolina; for with an area and white population only two-fifths of Virginia, the increase of the Negro population of the two States had practically been the same, viz.: 156,538 for Virginia, 156,457 for South Carolina. Nor could any comforting reassurance have been drawn from the fact that the percentage of increase of the same species of population in the States of Georgia, Tennessee and Kentucky had been greater; for such had been accompanied, in these newer States, with an even

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greater increase of their white population, and was based upon an original Negro population very small indeed, when compared to that of South Carolina in 1800. When comparison was made with Maryland, on the other hand, where the number of Negroes had originally been greater than in South Carolina, with the increase of the whites in the three decades not so great, small as had been the increase of the whites, it was yet greater than that of the colored, and originally the proportion of whites had been greater.

From all these causes South Carolina was becoming in place of Virginia the State most identified with the Negro question, in a section where it was becoming a larger and more important property interest.

Yet, while the increase of the Negro population in the lower South and Middle and Southwest had been very great, the census furnished no evidence of that movement of Negroes from North to South which has been so often alluded to. The Negro population of New York had increased by more than 50 per cent; New Jersey by at least 43; Connecticut, 40; and Delaware 38. Pennsylvania's increase in the 30 years had been 200 per cent, and even in Massachusetts the increase had been 22 per cent. The only State in which there had been a decrease, which could be attributed to a movement to another section, was Rhode Island, and it was not large enough to be considered, amounting in all to less than a thousand. Considering the population of the Southern States, however, the census afforded informa-

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tion well warranting the assumption that from Virginia and Maryland between the years 1810 and 1820 some 30,000 colored people had moved out. In the same time the colored population of North Carolina had increased by an accession of about 40,000; South Carolina, 65,000; Georgia, 44,000; Alabama, 24,000; Mississippi, 16,000; Louisiana, 35,000; Tennessee, 37,000; and Missouri, 7,000; the percentage of increase being, North Carolina 24 per cent; South Carolina 32 per cent; Georgia 42 per cent; Mississippi 95 per cent; Louisiana 55 per cent; Tennessee 80 per cent; Kentucky 58 per cent; and Missouri nearly 300 per cent, with no basis with which to estimate the 42,000 of Alabama.

These figures establish a movement from Virginia and Maryland but also from without, to the eight States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee and Kentucky, averaging about 45 per cent increase in the decade, and with every reasonable allowance for the movement from Virginia and Maryland and New York, of which at least one-third must have gone to the Northwest and Missouri, illegal importation must have been proceeding apace. Now, if there was illegal importation, where would it be most likely to occur?

In Louisiana, Mississippi and Tennessee; and there we find an increase of nearly 85 per cent, or an addition to the Negro population of something like 88,000.

These facts, therefore, disclose the weakness of the Southern argument that the diffusion of slaves

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would not have resulted in any extension of slavery. Theoretically it was a sound argument, that the slaves being spread over the face of the country, they and their masters would be brought more and more under the influences which would work against slavery and for emancipation. But if illicit importation from abroad was proceeding to any great extent, the premise upon which the argument was based gave way, and this is what must have been the case, as has been shown.

This is also where the argument of Prof. Ulrich Bonnell Phillips fails to convince, when he expresses the opinion, that "the importance of the repeal, in 1818, of the law which had prohibited the importation of slaves from other States into South Carolina has been exaggerated." He bases his reason for this view upon the claim that "the Federal Censuses show that the average rate of increase of the Negro population in South Carolina between 1810 and 1860, was substantially smaller than that of the Negroes in the United States at large, "which" he thinks, "indicates that South Carolina was in that half century more of a slave exporting than a slave importing State; and that a prohibition of slave imports would have had no appreciable influence upon the ratio of increase of her Negro population."⁴⁵

Unless it can be shown, however, that there were no accessions to the Negro population of the United States from without, between the periods selected by Prof. Phillips, the mere fact that the rate of increase of the Negro population of South Carolina was sub-

⁴⁵American Hist. Review, Vol. 15, No. 3, p. 630.

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stantially smaller than that of the United States at large does not establish that South Carolina was more of a slave exporting than importing State for that period; for the greater increase without could well be due to importation in great volume elsewhere, and that there was such was asserted by many, notably by Henry Middleton, in Congress, the very year of Hayne's speech in the South Carolina Legislature against importations from other States.⁴⁶ But apart from this, before this, South Carolina had become the State with the largest Negro population to its white population of all the States of the Union and that, the rate of increase of her Negro population from this date, or even a decade earlier, to 1860, "was substantially smaller than that of the Negroes in the United States at large" was simply due to the tremendous accessions of the Negro population of the four new cotton States: Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, superimposed upon a Negro population originally much smaller than that of South Carolina. The Negro population of those four States did in that period increase 1,384,555; but in the same time their white population increased 1,438,607; while in the same period the white and Negro population of South Carolina increased respectively 53,860 and 147,028. And so difficult was it to overcome this tremendous start attained by South Carolina in these early fatal years, that in 1860 the excess of South Carolina's colored population over her white population was 121,029, as compared with an excess of only 83,505 for Mississippi,

⁴⁶Suppression of Slave Trade, DuBois, p. 124.

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the next greatest. Undoubtedly in the period selected by Prof. Phillips many Negro slaves passed out of South Carolina; but many whites did also; for "from 1820 to 1860, South Carolina was a beehive from which swarms were continually going forth to populate the newer growing cotton States of the Southwest," and "in 1860 there were then living in other States 193,389 white persons born in South Carolina."⁴⁷ In the half century the average rate of increase of South Carolina whites was between 7 and 8 per cent, colored 21. In Virginia and Maryland in 1810 the Negro population amounted to 668,515. It increased by 1860 by an addition of 151,523. In South Carolina in 1810 the Negro population amounted to 200,919, by 1860 it had received an addition of 212,401, of which 64,382 had arrived in the decade of the repeal of the law prohibiting importation from other States, and 58,021 in the following decade. It is true that in the following decade from 1830 to 1840, the increase of the Negro population of South Carolina was comparatively slight, being only 11,992, but it was followed in the next decade by again an increase of 58,630, while the white increase in the same two decades was respectively 2,221 and 15,479.

But there was another way of measuring the importance of the repeal. Necessarily with the inflowing tide came some such as Denmark Vesey and Gullah Jack, slaves and free Negroes whose past was not known, and according to the report of the Massachusetts legislative committee in 1821, dealing

⁴⁷McCrary, S. C. Under Proprietary Govt. p. 1.

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with only 6,740 free persons of color in the State, among other "evils," from such, appeared, *inter alia*:

2. Collecting in the large towns an indolent and disorderly and corrupt population.

3. Substituting themselves in many labors and occupations which in the end it would be more advantageous to have performed by the white and native population of the State.⁴⁸

It is apparent then, from this, as well as from the arguments of Mr. Sergeant, that the real situation of the representatives of the two sections, in the great Missouri debate, has never been put with absolute accuracy. It was an assertion upon the part of the Southerners of their right to carry their property with them wherever they went in the Union, and upon the part of the Northerners a denial of this right. It precipitated an argument whether extension and diffusion of slavery meant the same thing, many Southern men, of eminence, contended that by the process of diffusion there would be apt to be the beginning of the end of slavery, and if there had been no illicit importation of slaves possible, there would have been great merit in this suggestion. But beyond all these arguments on the part of the Northerners, the Missouri Question indicated opposition to the mere presence of the Negro, bond or free, in the Northwest. He was an undesirable resident.

⁴⁸Studies American Race Problem, Stone, p. 57. Robert Y. Hayne & His Times, Jervey, p. 114.

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Up to this time, in the main, the attitude of the Southern statesmen had been free from sectionalism. On the other hand, New England had exhibited sectionalism, and it was New England's deputies in the Constitutional Convention, who joining with those of Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, had "formed a bargain," abrogating the slave trade in such a way as practically to recognize slavery as a property interest secured by the Constitution. The time allowed the slave trade had been long enough, as Madison had said it would be. As great as had been the rate of increase of the white population, it had been exceeded by that of the colored in the proportions of 90 to 95 per cent. What Col. Mason had prophesied had also come to pass. He had declared in 1787: "The Western people are already calling out for slaves for their new lands and will fill that country with slaves, if they can be got through South Carolina and Georgia."

They had been got no doubt in large numbers through South Carolina and Georgia; but also, in all probabilities, through Louisiana, and if not through, to some extent from, Maryland and Virginia. The Negro population had in the West, in three decades sprung up from 16,322 to 385,825; while the seven States, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, held some 1,193,732 head of this species of property, representing an investment of something like \$477,492,800, stamped as property by having been made dutiable under Federal law up to 1808. Such a property interest was almost certain

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to produce a sectional policy for its protection, and in the assertion of such a policy, South Carolina having the largest stake and the most forceful representatives, would naturally take the lead.

The consequences were that the broad national policy of Lowndes, from this date gradually succumbed to the influences which forced Calhoun away from it, despite his efforts to mould into one form a national and sectional policy, based upon the declared recognition of slavery, in place of, or in addition to, the implied recognition furnished by the Constitutional compromise or "bargain" over the sanction of the slave trade up to 1808. As the South drew together in support of slavery, the overshadowing dimensions of its greatest exponent cast into oblivion Barnwell, Hamilton and Alston, who had so clearly perceived the dangers from its increase, and even reduced the proportions of men as preëminently great as Lowndes and his successor, Robert Y. Hayne.

As long as the tariff held the center of the stage, the change was not so clearly apparent; but with the settling down, after the explosion of sentiment which nullification occasioned, the division between the sections was unmistakable. From that period the Lower South presented an unbroken front in defence of slavery, under the leadership of South Carolina.

From 1800 the South had, to a great extent, directed the policies of the Republic, and, in the persons of Lowndes, Cheves and Calhoun, South Carolina had from 1813 to 1820 been a potent influence

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therein; but the Missouri Compromise and Taylor's election over Lowndes in 1820, for the Speakership, marked the beginning of the change. No man saw it more clearly than the great man whom Taylor defeated. His views on the condition of affairs at this time is thus expressed by a contemporary: "The Northern people had outstripped the Southern and desired to see the offices of the Government in Northern hands. This inevitable result Mr. Lowndes saw clearly forty years ago, and thought it wise for the South to yield the hold she had so long possessed on political power, when she was no longer able to retain it."⁴⁹ The clear judgment of Lowndes had revealed to him what the fatal brilliancy of Calhoun's intellect prevented him from perceiving, viz.: that there could not be fashioned for the needs of imperfect humanity a perfectly symmetrical policy. Lowndes had brought Webster and Clay together and pushed through the tariff bill of 1816.⁵⁰

Of that bill in reply to the fierce criticism that it was the worst thing done since universal suffrage, he simply said, "neither was altogether good, but the best possible for the time." "He thought some protection due to infant industries and that the question was, what measure of protection do they require?" He held; "We are obliged to leave some questions to posterity. We do our best with those that come to us and future generations must bear their share of the trouble."⁵¹ Accordingly, when

⁴⁹Grayson, *Memoir of James L. Petigru*, p. 116.

⁵⁰*City Gazette*, Sept. 16, 1820.

⁵¹Ravenel, *Life & Times of William Lowndes*, p. 154-5.

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the Baldwin bill of 1820 was brought forward, "he opposed it on the ground that the increased duties were not necessary."⁵² Before the tariff bill of 1824 could be presented, he had passed away; but in his place, to share with Webster, the honors of the splendid fight against it, South Carolina had sent up to Congress Robert Y. Hayne, by Benton extolled as: "Of all the young generation of statesmen coming on I consider him the safest, the most like William Lowndes, and best entitled to future eminent lead."⁵³

How well Hayne lived up to this a study of his achievements exhibits. But while so good a judge as the late Edward M. Shepard, in his *Life of Van Buren*, ranks Hayne's effort in the Senate, against the tariff of 1824, as fully up to, if not beyond, that of Webster in the House, scarcely any attention is paid to it by those historians who extoll the speech of Webster.

Again, while almost every history deals at length with the Senatorial debates, and elaborates Hayne's speech on the Panama Mission in 1825, absolutely no mention appears concerning the far more important utterance with regard to the Colonization Society in 1827. Yet Hayne's speech, in his debate with Chambers over the Colonization Society, is one of the most important utterances ever made by a Southern Statesman. It indicates what was the prevailing view with regard to the Negro Question, before the unfortunate episode of nullification, by

⁵²Jervey, *Robert Y. Hayne & His Times*, p. 112.

⁵³Benton, *Thirty Years View*, Vol. 2, p. 188.

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which Calhoun fastened upon the South the belief that slavery as it existed in the Southern States, was a good. In the speech in 1827, Hayne first showed the absurdity of the scheme of transporting the blacks to Africa in such a number as to affect the situation. That the presence of Negroes in the country was an evil, he did not attempt to deny, but declared, "The progress of time and events is providing a remedy for the evil." He showed by statistics that the relative increase of free white population was rising, while that of the colored, whether bond or free, was diminishing, and that "while this process is going on the colored classes are gradually diffusing themselves throughout the country, and are making steady advances in intelligence and refinement, and if half the zeal were displayed in bettering their condition that is wasted in the vain and fruitless effort of sending them abroad, their intellectual and moral improvement would be steady and rapid."⁵⁴ Why is it that this utterance of the leader of his party in the Senate is never alluded to by historians? Is it because it invites investigation as to the condition of the blacks in the Northern and Western States at this period and for the twenty years which followed? It is difficult to tell. But from this time the question took a change. Subordinating to it the tariff and the interest in railroad development, with the conditions created by nullification by 1833, the State of South Carolina, and, by 1839, the South, was com-

⁵⁴Jervay, Robert Y. Hayne & His Times, pp. 205-209. Abridgment of Debates of Congress, Vol. 9, p. 303, *et seq.*

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mitted to the view of Calhoun: "Our fate as a people is bound up in the question. If we yield, we will be extirpated; but if we successfully resist, we will be the greatest and most flourishing people of modern time. It is the best substratum of population in the world, and one on which great and flourishing Commonwealths may be most easily and safely reared."⁵⁵ And to this "Negro substratum population" policy both the tariff and the railroad development of the South were accordingly subordinated until Calhoun's death, when Georgia, as a result of having outstripped South Carolina in both men and material, stepped into the place of leadership South Carolina could no longer fill, and with the ambitious scheme of forcing slavery to the Pacific, in ten years, produced the War Between the States.

⁵⁵Calhoun's Correspondence, p. 368.

CHAPTER IV

As has been shown, nine years subsequent to his unavailing struggle to restrict the swelling proportions of the Negro population in his own State, Robert Y. Hayne, in the United States Senate, stated his views concerning that class of our population with regard to the entire country. But before discussing that further it should be noted, that a renewed effort in 1822 had again been defeated by the narrow but effective majority of nine votes, drawing from Governor Bennett, of South Carolina the pessimistic declaration:

"The evil is entailed and we can do no more than steadily to pursue that course indicated by stern necessity and not less imperious policy."⁵⁶

Along another line, therefore, was the last peaceful effort to be made to solve the Negro Question. Taken in connection with the great industrial work, in which he literally wore out his life, in 1839, Hayne's speech in the United States Senate in 1827 is most illuminating. Upon that occasion he said:

"The history of this country has proved that when the relative proportion of the colored population to the white is greatly diminished, slaves cease to be valuable, and emancipation follows of course, and they are swallowed up in the common mass. Wherever free labor is put in full and successful operation, slave labor ceases to be profitable. It is true that it is a very gradual operation and that it must be, to be successful or desirable."⁵⁷

⁵⁶Jervay, Robert Y. Hayne & His Times, p. 135.

⁵⁷Ibid. p. 208. Abridgment of Debates of Congress, Vol. 19. p. 303 *et seq.*

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Was it not the very irony of fate that, as this speaker, later, in 1839, lay dying at Asheville, North Carolina, while a wordy war was being waged over his great railroad to the West, criticism should have been "directed against the contracts given to planters to be executed with slave labor" by the chief lieutenant of that great South Carolinian, who had only the year before, in withdrawing from the enterprise, extolled Negro slaves as "the best substratum of population in the world?"

Col. Gadsden, from this time and on, more and more a confidant of Calhoun until they parted over Taylor's candidacy for the Presidency, asked:

"Why had not the work been given to Northern contractors, who had offered to execute it at a price 12½ to 15 per cent cheaper? The answer was comprehensive. The planters objected to imported free labor being brought into contact with their slaves. This was unfortunate, but the company could not antagonize an element which practically controlled the State; and in addition they had in many instances given the right of way. But further still, when the chief engineer obtained the floor, he challenged the correctness of the charge."⁵⁸

Between 1830 and 1840, two Southern States, South Carolina and Maryland, leading the Union in railroad development, were endeavoring to effect railroad connection with the Northwest. A comparison of their conditions prior and subsequent to 1810, suggests one of the reasons why one succeeded and the other failed.

From 1790 to 1810 the white population of Maryland increased from 208,649 to 235,117, or about

⁵⁸Jervey, Robert Y. Hayne & His Times, p. 511.

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11.10 per cent. In the same twenty years the white population of South Carolina rose from 140,178 to 214,196 or about 51.20 per cent. It is quite true that in the same period the Negro population in South Carolina increased from 108,805 to 200,919 or 85.6 per cent, while that of Maryland rose only from 111,079 to 145,129 or only 30.07 per cent. Yet, when we bear in mind that the area of South Carolina was two and a half times as great as Maryland, had the efforts which had been made in 1816 and in 1822 to stop Negro importation from outside succeeded, the economic conditions of South Carolina between 1830 and 1840 might have been stronger. Indeed in 1822 Gen. Thomas Pinckney declared cheap Negro labor, even then, was steadily undermining the white artisan class in South Carolina.⁵⁹ He was patriot enough to so declare, although his own great brother was more responsible than any one else for the evil.

In the three decades which followed 1810, and closed with the death of Hayne and the destruction of his five year effort to secure the Northwestern railroad connection, the colored population of Maryland, which did secure it, increased only 6,396, from 145,429 to 151,815, while its white population in the same period rose from 235,117 to 318,204, an increase of 83,087. In South Carolina in the same time the white population rising from 214,196 to 259,344 increased only 44,883, about one-half as much, while its Negro population rising from 200,314 to 335,344, or 134,395, about twenty times as much

⁵⁹Ibid. p. 130.

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as Maryland. Viewed in the light of the unfair criticism directed against the South Carolina Railroad, was not the message of Governor Paul Hamilton in 1804, to the South Carolina Legislature, vindicated?

"Viewed with reference to population it increases our weakness, not our strength, for it must be admitted that in proportion as you add to the number of slaves, you prevent the influx of those men who would increase the means of defense and security."⁶⁰

How our forgotten great men fought to avoid the Nessus Shirt! Who remembers that Hamilton was big enough to be made Secretary of the Navy? Under the great upas tree of South Carolina all other greatness languished and by 1840 the property interests in Negroes had become so immense, that it not only paralyzed other industries, which could by any stretch of imagination be thought to threaten its efficiency, but it affected public opinion to a degree which now seems hardly credible.

Calhoun's view in 1838, that the Negro furnished "the best substratum of population in the world and the one on which commonwealths may be most easily and safely reared"⁶¹ was not singular in the South at that date. The great meeting of Southern business men at Augusta, Ga. in 1838 put on record its belief:

"That of all the social conditions of man, the most favorable to the development of the cardinal virtues of the heart and the noblest faculties of the soul, to the promotion of pri-

⁶⁰*Charleston Courier*, Dec. 2, 1805.

⁶¹Calhoun's Correspondence, p. 368.

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vate happiness and public prosperity, is that of slave holding communities under free political institutions.”⁶²

Even Hayne, himself, despite his realization of South Carolina’s wasteful cultivation of her soil, was so affected by the tremendous interests involved in slavery, and the fearful shock of any such disturbance as the Abolitionists threatened in 1835, as to declare at that time:

“Slavery, as it now exists in the Southern States, which we all feel and know to be essential to the prosperity and welfare—nay to the very existence of the States—is so little understood in other portions of the Union that it has been lately assailed in a spirit which threatens, unless speedily arrested, to lead eventually to the destruction of the Union and all the evils which must attend so lamentable an occurrence.”⁶³

By 1838, conditions had reached such a development that the abolition of slavery could come but in one of two ways, either peacefully, through the slow process of changing industrial conditions, or swiftly and forcibly, as a war measure; therefore, when Calhoun withdrew his support from Hayne’s railroad to the Northwest in 1838, the sensible course would have been to prepare for the inevitable conflict.

Allusion has been made to the Black Laws of Ohio, which had their counterpart in Indiana and Illinois, and reference had to the Report of the Massachusetts Legislative Committee in 1821, as indicative of feeling in the North and Northeast, concerning the Negro as a citizen, and, if we consider conditions in

⁶²*Charleston Courier*, April 9, 1838.

⁶³Jervay, Robert Y. Hayne & His Times, p. 389.

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the Middle States at this period, we will find them hardly different. As depicted by the most highly educated member of the Negro race today in the United States, in Philadelphia conditions were as follows:

"By 1830 the black population of the city and districts had increased to 15,624, an increase of 27 per cent for the decade 1820-1830, and of 48 per cent since 1810. Nevertheless the growth of the city had far outstripped this; by 1830 the county had nearly 175,000 whites, among whom was a rapidly increasing contingent of 5,000 foreigners. So intense was the race antipathy among the lower classes, and so much countenance did it receive from the middle and upper classes, that there began in 1829 a series of riots directed chiefly against Negroes, which recurred frequently until about 1840, and did not wholly cease until after the war."⁶⁴

At this date, 1840, in ten of the eleven States which later constituted the Confederacy, there were 3,311,117 whites and 2,267,319 Negroes; and in three of them; South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana, the whites were in the minority, and they, therefore, best represented the condition which Calhoun in 1838 extolled.⁶⁵

With such views, what more natural than that Calhoun should view as a "humbug" the great railroad measure of Hayne, founded as it was in some degree upon the belief of the latter that "wherever free labor is put in full and successful operation, slave labor ceases to be profitable." A railroad connecting Cincinnati with Charleston would certainly have tended to "put in full and successful operation

⁶⁴DuBois; *The Philadelphia Negro*, p. 26.

⁶⁵Calhoun's *Correspondence*, p. 368.

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free labor," and slave labor ceasing more and more to be profitable would have gradually passed out of existence in that region.

Yet it must be admitted, that the greatest writer and thinker who has ever discussed America, viewing conditions at that time, while utterly opposed to slavery, practically endorsed Calhoun's views. Summing up his conclusion in 1838, de Tocqueville writes:

"When I contemplate the condition of the South, I can only discover two alternatives which may be adopted by the white inhabitants of those States; either to emancipate the Negroes and to intermingle with them; or remain isolated from them to keep them in a state of slavery as long as possible. All intermediate measures seem to me likely to terminate, and that shortly, in the most horrible of civil wars, and perhaps in the extirpation of one or the other of the two races."⁶⁶

Time, however, has proven that both de Tocqueville and Calhoun were wrong.

From a Negro minority of 13,277 in 1810, the census indicated for South Carolina in 1840, a Negro majority of 76,230 an excess of the Negro population over the white of more than double what existed in Louisiana and quadruple that of Mississippi.

In 1843, for the better controlling of this "best substratum of population in the world"⁶⁷ only five years after its discovery as such, the following Act was passed by the General Assembly of South Carolina:

⁶⁶Tocqueville: *Democracy in America*, Vol. 2, p. 245.

⁶⁷Calhoun's *Correspondence*, p. 368.

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"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives now met and sitting, and by the authority of the same: That from and after the passage of this Act, any slave or free person of color who shall commit an assault and battery on a white woman with intent to commit rape, on being thereof convicted, shall suffer death without benefit of clergy."⁶⁸

For whites, it was not apparently necessary to raise the grade of the offense from that of a misdemeanor. But if the above Act was not a sufficient vindication of the opposition of Barnwell, Paul Hamilton, Alston and Hayne to the continued increase of the Negro population of South Carolina, Calhoun, himself, furnished something of an argument against the "best substratum" by his declaration only nine years after its discovery:

"We know what we are about, we foresee what is coming, and move with no other purpose but to protect our portion of the Union from the greatest of calamities—not insurrection but something worse. I see the end if the process is to go on unresisted; it is to expel in time the white population of the Southern States and leave the blacks in possession."⁶⁹

If this is a true picture of conditions in 1847, as black as we may consider the Abolitionists of that day, one thing is evident, and that is, that without such a mass of "the best substratum of population" to work upon, the Abolitionists could not possibly have effected what Calhoun feared: therefore, the statesmanship of William Smith, McDuffie, and Calhoun, which had favored and assisted in the gathering of it, to that extent was inferior to the statesmanship of Paul Hamilton, Barnwell, Alston and

⁶⁸Statutes of S. C. Vol. XI, p. 279.

⁶⁹Pinckney: Life of Calhoun, p. 161.

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Hayne which had attempted to arrest the growth. But that was not apparent to the South in 1850, and it is doubtful whether it would be very generally admitted even today; for interest will color opinion and Negro cheap labor is still the first consideration to many people in the South, just as European pauper labor is to many in the North. Both North and South can see clearly the mote in their brother's eye; but not the beam in their own eye.

By the census of 1850, the population of the 33 States, which constituted the Union, summed up 22,969,603 persons, divided as follows: In the 19 Free States 13,230,231 whites; 213,346 free persons of color; 2,536 slaves. In the 14 Slave States there were: 6,113,068 whites; 210,085 free persons of color; 3,200,590 slaves. That meant that the South had invested in that species of property interest \$1,280,200,000. By money values and population, at that time, that was an immense sum.

The Democratic Review, in this same year, published an article which was republished in the *Charleston Mercury*, and commended by that paper. This article sets forth certain distinct claims of considerable interest:

First that:

"The face of affairs is entirely changed since General Pinckney, in convention assented to the proposition giving Congress the right to pass laws, regulating commerce by a simple majority, on the ground that it was a boon granted the North in consideration of the necessity which the weak South had for the strong North as a neighbor. The cotton trade then scarcely existed, but the material has since been

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spun into a web which binds the commercial world to Southern interests."⁷⁰

Figures were also introduced to show that the multiplication of free blacks in the Slave States was increasing upon the proportion of slaves and that it was observable that they did not emigrate from the Slave States, where it was claimed they must in time supplant the slaves as servants; and the laws of Ohio were pointed to as indicating an opposition, not to slavery, but to the presence of the Negro, which it claimed, had greatly retarded emancipation. In these claims truth was mingled with error.

As to the indisposition of the people of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, to admit any class of colored persons to enter as residents, there can be no doubt up to this date, although indications of a change of sentiment were appearing. The repeal of the Black Laws of Ohio was one illustration. With 1,955,059 whites to only 25,279 colored persons, the harsh provisions, which closed the mouths of these unfortunates when contending with the whites, in so called courts of justice, it was conceded by the whites of Ohio, could be safely done away with, and they had been repealed in 1848. It may also have been true that the free blacks did not emigrate from the Slave States; but that in that region they were gaining upon the slaves, and that there was any reasonable possibility of their supplanting them as servants, does not seem to be borne out by examination of the census.

⁷⁰*Charleston Mercury*, Feb. 15, 1850.

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The Democratic Review claims that, while in 1800 there were in the Slave States 61,441 free persons of color to 73,100 in the Free States, that by 1830 the proportions were 182,070 in the Slave States to 137,525 in the Free States, a proportion raised by 1840 to 215,568 to 172,509. But this seems inexact. By the census of 1800 there were in the Slave States 52,188 free persons of color, to 55,464 in the Free States, and by 1830 the number in the Slave States had, it is true, surpassed the number in the Free States, such being respectively 160,063 to 153,384. But whether it was in consequence of the Nat Turner insurrection of 1831, or the Abolition ebullition of 1835, by 1840 there was a change in progress, the proportion being in that year 190,285 in the Slave States to 187,647 in the Free States, which, as has before been shown, by 1850 had changed to 210,085 in the Slave States to 213,346 in the Free States.

At the same time it could be noted that while the Negroes in the United States had increased by more than 28 per cent since 1840, the freedmen had increased by less than 13 per cent in the same time.

In the Free States of New York, New Hampshire, Vermont and Connecticut the free colored population had decreased by 1,402. In the Slave States of Louisiana and Mississippi it had decreased by 8,174, and that State in the South which held more than one-fourth of the whole number in the Southern States, Virginia, had appropriated \$30,000 a year for their removal.⁷¹

⁷¹Ibid.

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The South was apparently, therefore, committed to the institution of African Slavery, and in defense of it some of its champions were wild enough to waive the question of the inferiority of the Negro race and contend, "that slavery, whether of black or white, is a normal, proper institution in society."⁷²

The Richmond, Va., *Inquirer*, The Muscogee, Ala., *Herald*, The New Orleans, La., *Delta* and the Charleston, S. C., *Standard*, are all quoted by an English writer, whose work appeared in print about 1855.⁷³ The three first as sustaining the above extraordinary claim; while the fourth called for a revival of the Slave Trade.

Even if correctly quoted the comments of these papers do not establish the prevailing sentiment in the South at that time; for the publication at Charleston and reception of Dr. John Bachman's work on the "Unity of the Human Race" would to some extent constitute an opinion to the contrary.

But that the South was positively, unreservedly, and even aggressively committed to the institution of African Slavery is indisputable.

It had not been so always. The change began in 1833, when the Charleston *Mercury* declared—"The institution of slavery is not an evil but a benefit." That paper had upon that occasion admitted that in the past the South had entertained a view to the contrary; but asserted in 1833, that even in Virginia and North Carolina:

⁷²Chambers: American Slavery & Color, p. 1.

⁷³Ibid, pp. 1-2.

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"The great mass of the South sanction no such admission, that Southern Slavery is an evil to be deprecated."⁷⁴

And, as the appetite grows by what it feeds upon, in 1855, The Richmond *Examiner* was quoted as declaring:

"It is all a hallucination that we are ever going to get rid of African Slavery, or that it will ever be desirable to do so. . . True philanthropy to the Negro begins at home; and if every Southern man would act as if the canopy of Heaven were inscribed with a covenant in letters of fire, that the Negro is here and here forever; is our property and ours forever; is never to be emancipated; is to be kept hard at work and in rigid subjection all his days; and is never to go to Africa, to Polynesia, or to Yankee land,—far worse than either,—they would accomplish more good for the race in five years than they boast the institution itself to have accomplished in two centuries."⁷⁵

Yet as extreme as the above is, it is quite probable that the extravagance and injustice of the declaration against slavery in the Southern States, had exasperated those supporting it to utterances as extravagant.

In the opening of the year 1850 a resolution of the Legislature of Vermont was introduced in Congress which recited:

"That slavery is a crime against humanity, and a sore evil in the body politic, that was excused by the framers of the Federal Constitution as a crime entailed upon the country by their predecessors, and tolerated solely as a thing of inexorable necessity."⁷⁶

⁷⁴Jervey, Robert Y. Hayne & His Times, p. 366.

⁷⁵Chambers; American Slavery & Color, p. 7.

⁷⁶Charleston Mercury, Jan. 12, 1850.

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How Southern men must have felt this it is almost impossible for us to appreciate today. It was not only an indictment of the South at a bar where there was no provision for a trial; but it ended in a hypocritical falsehood; for slavery had not been, "tolerated solely as a thing of inexorable necessity." Existing in every State except Massachusetts, the question whether the existing condition could be affected by permission to increase the slaves for a period by importation was committed with the clauses relating to taxes on exports and to a Navigation Act," that these things might "form a bargain between the Northern and Southern States."

This motion by Gouverneur Morris, of Pennsylvania, was adopted by the vote of seven of the eleven States in Convention, against three opposing and one abstaining from voting, one of the delegates whereof seconded the motion of Pinckney to increase the period permitting importation, which he with one of the opponents of commitment voted for; so that actually slavery, with the right to increase it by the Slave Trade, was voted for by nine out of eleven States participating.

The Vermont resolution accomplished nothing; but to no individual in Congress could it have inflicted such a wound as it dealt to Calhoun. To him resolutions were of enormous importance, and yet he never seemed quite ready to follow them up with acts. He was at last in the grasp of that power which overcomes all things except God. Twelve years had elapsed since he had been called upon to decide between the policy of Hayne, based

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of his prominence in endeavoring to keep the Negroes in the South, towards assisting them in obtaining their share of the land in the West, what progress might they not have made?

Eighteen years ago, before the great world problem of color had arisen, there was nothing to chill the zeal of the British Negrophilist; but in South Africa the British Negrophobe is increasing in numbers and his influence is also being felt in Canada. Still there are opportunities for the Negro yet, if the leaders of the race will only awaken to the necessities of diffusion. But time and tide wait for no man.

As has been attempted to be shown, the idea, not unreasonably entertained soon after the war between the States, that there was apt to be with time, a greater and greater increase of Negro population in the five Southern States, considered as the Black Belt, is no longer tenable.

Immediately after the war the Negroes were in a majority of 19,808 in this belt of contiguous States, which the processes and excesses of Reconstruction did raise to 168,965, discernable four years after its overthrow. But by 1890 this Negro majority had been reduced to 150,661 and by 1900 to 92,610. In the following decade this black majority through white immigration and black emigration, was replaced by a white majority in the so called Black Belt of 423,717; which now has risen to over a million and a quarter. The increase of whites has been greatest in the two States in the center of the belt. In the State of Alabama from the conclusion of the

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war, the increase of the white majority has been steady and continuous, rising from 45,874 in 1870 to 320,566 in 1910 and to 546,980 in 1920. The increase of the white majority in Georgia was less rapid. Reconstruction had cut down the white majority of 93,884 to 81,773 by 1870, but from the overthrow of Reconstruction it rose to 254,849 in 1910, and has now reached 482,749. Louisiana's Negro majority of 2,114 in 1870, Reconstruction had raised to 28,701 by 1880, but in the forty years which have followed, it has now become 396,354 whites in excess of blacks.

In the other two States progress has been slower.

South Carolina, laden with Negroes to the very gunwales by the subjects of "King Cotton," emerged from the storm of war with a Negro majority of 126,147, which Reconstruction speedily increased in "The Prostrate State" to 213,229 by 1880, a number so far beyond her small white population, that even with a decreasing rate of increase, the black majority had increased by 1890 to 226,926, the decrease of which in 1900 was barely perceptible; but by 1910 had fallen to 156,681 and in 1920 was still further reduced to 45,941. And even Mississippi, whose Negro majority rose steadily from 31,305 in 1870, to 266,430 in 1900, dropped in 1910 to 223,338, which by 1920 had fallen to 81,222. This is in all probability due to the migration which Carlyle McKinley predicted in 1889, although Hoffman, who published a painstaking work in 1896, thinking to establish that the Negro was dying out, as "in the Northern States the colored race does not hold his

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own, for the deaths out number the births," yet concluded that the Negro was—

"in the South as a permanent factor, with neither the ability nor the inclination to leave."³⁰⁴

As in the North and West the numbers of the Negroes have since 1870 to 1920 risen from 250,000 to 1,550,000 and in the South during the same time from 4,585,000 to 8,990,000, the two assertions above do not hang together.

When we consider the view advanced by that great writer, the author of "The American Commonwealth", we find it very difficult for him to shake himself loose from the impression that the Negro must remain in the South, and that it is best that he should, although what he says, himself, would seem to disprove the assertion. He finds first evidently by consideration of the census figures up to 1900, that:

"It is thus clear that the Negro center of population is more southward and that the African is leaving the colder, higher and drier lands for regions more resembling his ancient seats in the Old World."³⁰⁵

Carlyle McKinley, with more prophetic ken, eleven years earlier foresaw this, but also beyond what is shown above, that from this region the Negro would move out, North and West.

Mr. Bryce finds:

"In these hot lowlands the Negro lives much as he lived on the plantations in the old days, except that he works less, because a moderate amount of labor produces enough

³⁰⁴Hoffman, *Race Traits and Tendencies*, p. 3.

³⁰⁵Bryce, *American Commonwealth* Vol. II, Rev. Ed. p. 513.

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for his bare subsistence . . . he is scarcely at all in contact with any one above his own condition. Thus there are places, the cities especially, where the Negro is improving industrially because he has to work hard and comes into constant relation with the whites; and others where he need work very little, and where being left to his own resources, he is in danger of relapsing into barbarism."

The writer lays it down specifically:

"Contact with the whites is the chief condition for the progress of the Negro. Where he is isolated or where he greatly outnumbers the whites, his advance will be retarded . . . Yet he is often no better off at the North where the white laborers may refuse to work with him and where he has no more chance than in the South of receiving, except in very exceptional cases, any sort of social recognition from any class of whites, while in the cities everywhere he is met by the competition of the generally more diligent and more intelligent whites. So the Negro is after all better off in the South and on the land, than anywhere else."³⁰⁶

Contrasting the views of Booker Washington and DuBois, he finds a cultured group which declare they do not seek social equality with the whites, yet in spite of the fact, stressed, that where he is isolated or where he greatly outnumbers the whites, his advance will be retarded, a condition of the South, building upon such a foundation, Mr. Bryce does not hesitate to declare, that because, at the North, "the white laborers may refuse to work with him . . . the Negro is after all better at the South."

Apparently in the view of this great Englishman, the risk of a relapse into barbarism is not as serious a matter to the Negro, as exposure to the cold shoulder or angry scowl of a white laborer; and so

³⁰⁶Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, Vol. II, pp. 515-537-552.

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he dismisses the Negro and his future with an attempt to epitomize the philosophy of Dr. Washington into what is really Mr. Bryce's imperious conviction, viz, that there is:

"no use in resisting patent facts, that all that the Negro can do at present, and the most effective thing, that, with a view to the future, he could do, is to raise himself in intelligence, knowledge, industry, thrift, whatever makes for self help and self respect."

But even while this epitome was appearing in print for the first time, the inability of the great author to fully plumb the depths of Dr. Washington's political philosophy was shown by the *New York Age*, the leading colored paper of the United States, which, upon the nomination of Mr. Taft for the presidency in 1908, published what was asserted to be the facsimile of the telegram sent him by Dr. Washington, to the effect that he expected to see him elected and by his (Washington's) people, as no doubt he was, to a very great degree, by their votes in the Northern States.

If then—

"a systematic effort has been made to settle colored people in Indiana, to hold that State in the Republican column"³⁰⁷—

surely a way had been found for the colored man to do more than Mr. Bryce thought he could. He can move out of that section where in mass his vote was destructive into that one, in which it is sought, and there cast it for what he deems his interest.

If in 1908, the Negroes moved into the North for the purpose of supporting Mr. Taft and defeating

³⁰⁷Hart, *Southern South*, p. 113.

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Mr. Bryan, they did what they had a right to do, and under conditions which made it hardly possible that it could inflict much damage, even if the vote was cast more as a commodity of merchandise is disposed of, than as an exercise of a free man's franchise; for no matter for whom cast, it could hardly swamp the opposition. When, as a mass of delegates from the South, however, four years later in 1912, the Negroes assisted Mr. Taft's friends in party convention assembled, to secure for him the renomination for the presidency, against the wish of one, deemed by many as the most powerful cleansing factor of the Republican party, the evil effects flowing from so great and determinative occupation with politics by the Negroes of the South, became so apparent to many earnest Northern men, that the reported view of Mr. Roosevelt, as to the distinction between the exercise of the right by the Negro in the South and out of it, did not seem so strange.

To extreme Negrophiles, of course, it is merely an indication of the marvelous progress of what is called the Southern "color psychosis." It is in fact one of the many illustrations constantly appearing, of the realization of the fact that, when invested too swiftly and fully with power and privilege, backward people are apt to stumble; and in this connection it might be well to consider the morality of the Negroes of South Africa, thirteen years after the overthrow of the Boer republics, under whose rule they had been protected from the oppression of the more savage members of their race; but nevertheless kept in a distinctly menial condition.

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A report appearing in 1913 in that country is, in itself, some evidence of the value of the suggestion made by the author of this work to the great New York paper, which in 1890 had invited ideas to be suggested to it.

An impartial study of the color psychosis of these two little white republics in a sea of blacks, cut off to a great degree from the influence of European and American ideas, as they were in 1890; but evolving not only a people, stated by the London Lancet to be the finest physical specimens in the world; but also a Botha and a Smuts, surely must have been of great educational value to the United States. Here is the report ten years after South African Reconstruction:

"Cape Town, June 9, 1913: The report of the committee appointed to inquire into the assaults by natives on white women shows that the misgivings on the subject were only too well founded. The figures during the twelve years (from the period of the overthrow of the republics to the date) rise from a total of eleven convictions in 1901 to seventy in 1912. The increase is most in Transvaal, next in Natal and then in Cape Colony. Generally speaking the Commission attributes the increase mainly to diminished respect on the part of the natives for the whites, this in turn being due to a variety of causes, chiefly to the contact of natives with degenerate or criminal whites. A potent cause of this criminality and degeneracy on the Rand is the illicit liquor traffic. The Commission also uses extremely plain language regarding what is described as the almost criminal carelessness of white women in the treatment of their native house-boys. It has been the custom to allow them to bring the early coffee into the bedroom of the mistress of the house and that of her daughters, where he has an opportunity of seeing them in a state of undress they would not dream

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of showing themselves in to a white man. The Commission states that cases, though few, have undoubtedly occurred, in which the white mistress or servants have played Potiphar's wife to the house boy's Joseph. In other words charges have been trumped up. The chief legal recommendation is the imposition of a penalty on the intercourse of a male black with a female white or a male white with a female black."³⁰⁸

The Englishman, in 1921 is just commencing to see some virtue in the Boer who, until very recently, has shared with the South Carolinian the distinction of being the most vilified of all people. Like the South Carolinian, the Boer believes that, between the races, "familiarity breeds contempt." Both peoples hold to their views very tenaciously. No change has ever induced the white people of South Carolina to alter their attitude against divorce. Perhaps this is one of the reasons which has induced the advanced thinkers of the higher civilizations to generalize most fiercely against the white inhabitants of this small State of the Union.

In 1910, Sir Harry Johnston produced his book "The Negro in the New World." The author, a traveler and student, at the suggestion of President Roosevelt, brought to the consideration of his subject much knowledge and not a little temper. The aim of the book is popularity. From a scroll below the map of the Western Hemisphere, the heads of Dr. Burghardt DuBois and Booker T. Washington project, silent witnesses to an entirely colored United States with the exception of the tips of New England and Florida; but as all of England, France and Italy are colored, no reflection is evidently in-

³⁰⁸*London Times*, June 27, 1913.

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tended. In his preface, with amusing naivete, he confesses:

"Dealing with slavery under the British, I feel obliged to show with what terrible cruelties this institution was connected in the greater part of the British West Indies, and possibly also in British Guiana before 1834. Nor did these cruelties cease entirely with the abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery. They were continued under various disguises until they culminated in the Jamaica Revolt of Moratt Bay in 1865. Since 1868 the history of the British West Indies, so far as the treatment of the Negro and the colored man is concerned has been wholly satisfactory, taking into consideration all the difficulties of the situation."³⁰⁹

When he reaches that part of his book which is to show:

"How bad was the treatment of the Negro in the South-eastern States of the Union, between, let us say, 1790 and 1860"—he says—"This story should be written over again, lest we forget."³¹⁰

Evidently there is no need to take into consideration any "of the difficulties of the situation" in the Southeastern States of the Union. Sir Harry Johnston has been called upon to curse the South-eastern States of the Union, and being a firmer type of man than Balaam, he does it thoroughly. But incidentally he exclaims impatiently:

"Haiti' I have tried to show is not as black as she has been painted."

To which he adds the following rich, dark, daub:

"For very shame she should cease to make the Negro race a laughing stock."³¹¹

³⁰⁹ Johnston, *The Negro in the New World*, p. VIII.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. IX.

³¹¹ *Ibid.* p. X.

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The author has not proceeded a page in his chapter, "Slavery in the United States" before he begins to inveigh against South Carolina and Charleston. He tells his readers:

"In South Carolina the condition of the slaves was often one of great hardship, and the slave laws were very cruel."

He writes of slave insurrections in South Carolina in 1710, 1720, and 1740, and states that in 1760 there was a slave population of 400,000 in Virginia, South Carolina and Georgia; but he fails to mention that during this period these people were all under British control. He actually makes it a complaint of South Carolina that: "these were the people so admired by Gladstone, Kingsley, Huxley and Carlyle."³¹²

The more he writes the angrier he gets with South Carolina:

"The election of Abraham Lincoln was the last episode which decided South Carolina—protagonist of the Slave Powers and rightly so called, for it has been from first to last the wickedest of the Slave States—to secede from the Union."³¹³

But he cannot keep away from 1740:

"It was in South Carolina in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, that life was made unbearable and short for the unfortunate African, and that being driven to mad despair, the Negroes broke out in the Charleston revolt of 1740, and attempted (small blame to them) to slay the pitiless devils who were their masters."³¹⁴

³¹²Ibid. p. 380.

³¹³Ibid. p. 363.

³¹⁴Ibid. p. 368.

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The truth about this insurrection is as follows. No insurrection occurred in South Carolina in 1740; but in 1739, when as Sir Harry Johnston failed to state, the province was under British control:

"An outbreak occurred, undoubtedly instigated by the Spaniards at St. Augustine. Emissaries had been sent persuading the Negroes to fly from their masters to Florida, where liberty and protection awaited them . . . At length on the 9th of September, a number of Negroes assembled at Stono and began their movement by breaking open a store, killing two young men who guarded the warehouse and plundering it for guns and ammunition. Thus provided with arms they chose one of their number captain and marched in the direction of Florida with colors flying and drums beating. On their way they entered the house of Mr. Godfrey, murdered him, his wife and children, took all the arms in the house and setting fire to it proceeded to Jacksonborough. In their march they plundered and burnt every house, killed the white people, and compelled other Negroes to join them . . . For fifteen miles they had spread desolation through all the plantations on their way. Fortunately having found rum in some houses and drinking freely of it, they halted and began to sing and dance. During these rejoicings the militia came up and took positions to prevent escape, then advancing and killing some, the remainder of the Negroes dispersed and fled to the woods. Many ran back to the plantations to which they belonged in the hope of escaping suspicion of having joined in the rising; but the greater part were taken and tried, some of them who had been compelled to join were pardoned; the leaders suffered death. Twenty one whites and forty-four Negroes lost their lives in this insurrection."³¹⁵

There was no Charleston revolt in 1740.

"In the Northern colonies the only signal disturbances were those of 1712 and 1741 at New York, both of which

³¹⁵ McCrady, S. C. Under Royal Govt. p. 185.

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were more notable for the frenzy of the public than for the formidableness of the menace. . . The rebels to the number of twenty-three provided themselves with guns, hatchets, knives and swords and chose the dark of the moon in the small hours of an April night to set a house afire and slaughter the citizens as they flocked thither. But their gun fire caused the Governor to send soldiers from the battery with such speed that only nine whites had been killed and several others wounded when the plotters were routed. Six of these killed themselves to escape capture, but when the woods were beaten and the town searched next day and an emergency court sat upon the cases, more captives were capitally sentenced than the whole conspiracy had comprised. . . Of those convicted, one was broken on the wheel, another hanged alive in chains, nineteen more were executed on the gallows or at the stake, one of these being sentenced 'to be burned with a slow fire that he may continue in torment for eight or ten hours and continue burning until he be dead and consumed to ashes.'"³¹⁶

"The commotion in 1741 was a panic among the whites of high and low degree, prompted in sequel to a robbery and a series of fires by the disclosures of Mary Burton, a young white servant concerning her master John Hughson and the confessions of Margaret Kerry, a young white woman of many aliases, but most commonly called Peggy, who was an inmate of Hughson's disreputable house and a prostitute to Negro slaves . . . Hughson and his wife and the infamous Peggy were promptly hanged, and likewise John Ury, who was convicted of being a Catholic priest as well as a conspirator; and twenty-nine Negroes were sent with similar speed to the gallows or stake, while eighty others were deported. . . . Quack and Cuffee, for example, terror stricken at the stake made somewhat stereotyped revelations; but the desire of the officials to stay the execution with a view to a definite reprieve was thwarted by their fear of tumult by the throng of resentful spectators."³¹⁷

³¹⁶Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, p. 469.

³¹⁷*Ibid.* p. 470.

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In the more scholarly portions of this book, the author invites comparison with the great work of Ripley, the American, which unavoidably detracts from the confidence of the reader in the wealth of expression of the Englishman. The book is a mass of information, in which much prejudice is apparent. When he gets down to advice, the writer informs the reader that what he regards as "a matter of crucial importance to the civilized Christian Negro,"³¹⁸ Mr. Roosevelt evidently thought nonsense, for that great American informed him, that he would never—

"get the colored people of the United States to dress differently to their white fellow citizens."³¹⁹

Sir Harry wished—

"the leaders of the Negro people to inveigh against these garments (frock coats and silk hats) which only look well on two white men out of ten, and never look other than ugly and inappropriate on a person of dark complexion."³²⁰

It is hardly necessary to make any great endeavor to discover the exact meaning of the author's mouth filling phrase:

"If the Imperial destiny of the English speaking peoples of North America is to be achieved, they must expect to see their flag or flags covering nationally many peoples of non-Caucasian race wearing the shadowed livery of the burnished sun."³²¹

For while he tells us that:

"The eleven States of the Secession have remained to this day (1910) apart from the rest of America in their domestic policy towards the Negro and people of color with

³¹⁸Johnston, *The Negro in the New World*, p. 413.

³¹⁹*Ibid.* p. 415.

³²⁰*Ibid.* p. 413.

³²¹*Ibid.* p. X.

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any drop of black blood in their veins. Here alone—except perhaps in the Transvaal, Orange State and Natal of British South Africa—does the racial composition of a citizen (and not mere dirtiness, drunkenness, or inability to pay) exclude him or her from municipal or national privilege and public conveniences otherwise open to all and paid for by all.³²² Yet with all these imperfections in the social acceptance of the colored people of the United States—imperfections which with time and patience and according to the merits of the Negro will disappear—the main fact was evident to me after a tour through the Eastern and Southern States of North America; that nowhere in the world—certainly not in Africa—has the Negro been given such a chance of mental and physical development as in the United States.”³²³

If Sir Harry Johnston, or for the matter of that, his patron, President Roosevelt, had only been able to study that neglected and impoverished Negro seer, the only one of the teachers of his people who gave his blood for their freedom, proving his faith by his works and not by mere lip service, the repudiation of whom by the Negroes and their leaders is the severest indictment which could be drawn against the race, they might have been wiser. But from time immemorial the call to the prophet has always been: “Prophesy unto us smooth things.”—and W. Hannibal Thomas having fought in the ranks of the Union army and lived in the midst of Reconstruction, knew a little too much, despite his exaltation of the civilization of New England, and his criticism of the South’s attempt in 1865 to mould again its own, apart from slavery, to ever be accepted by those who had participated in or were responsible for Reconstruction.

³²²Ibid. p. 476.

³²³Ibid. p. 477.

CHAPTER XIII

The American Historical Association founded about 1889 has accomplished a great work in purifying the sources from which history has been drawn. It has stimulated the study of history and has afforded the field and opportunity for effort. By the Act of Incorporation it shall report annually its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America, to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute, who shall communicate to Congress the whole of such reports or such portion thereof as he shall see fit.

In the year 1909, the President of the Association, invited, from certain selected individuals, papers on the Negro question limited to 1800 words, for one of the sessions of the Association. This was a limitation which every white person accepting should have scrupulously observed and no one should have accepted who was not willing to exert himself seriously. Yet the tendency of not a few whites to allow themselves always a little playfulness whenever discussing this subject seems ineradicable. To the one colored scholar, who accepted the invitation, the occasion afforded an opportunity not to be permitted to slip by unimproved, and with admirable nerve, he selected the darkest decade discernible in the consideration of the subject, as disclosed in the history of the United States, and addressed himself to a discussion of "Reconstruction and Its Benefits," in a paper of about 10,000 words.

In the disregard which he thereby showed of the terms of his invitation he was justified by his color

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and his brains and the merit of his work won for him the widest dissemination of his view. Like Sir Harry Johnston's more elaborate book it is polemical; but superior in taste and style, being free from the little querulous snarls with which the Englishman garnished his treatise; for if there were sneers in DuBois's exposition they were couched in language which passes muster among well bred people; while the fact that he was in reality an advocate, with a brief to maintain, accorded him license for such.

The opening could hardly be improved upon by any special pleader.

Writing in 1909, he declares:

"There is danger today that between the intense feeling of the South and the conciliatory spirit of the North grave injustice will be done the Negro American in the history of Reconstruction. Those who see in Negro suffrage the cause of the main evils of Reconstruction must remember that if there had not been a single freedman left in the South after war the problems of Reconstruction would still have been grave. Property in slaves to the extent of perhaps two thousand million dollars had suddenly disappeared. One thousand five hundred more millions representing the Confederate war debt, had largely disappeared. Large amounts of real estate and other property had been destroyed, industry had been disorganized, 250,000 men had been killed and many more maimed. With this went the moral effect of an unsuccessful war with all its letting down of social standards and quickening of hatred and discouragement—a situation which would make it difficult under any circumstances to reconstruct a new government and a new civilization. Add to all this the presence of four million freedmen and the situation is further complicated."³²⁴

³²⁴DuBois, *Reconstruction and Its Benefits* Am. Hist. Rev. Vol. IV, p. 781.

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That the training and the treatment of these ex-slaves became a central problem of Reconstruction, he admits; yet claims that three agencies, the Negro church; the Negro school and the Freedmen's Bureau undertook the solution, without which, he maintains, it would have been far graver. But he absolutely disregards that product of ante-bellum Southern civilization then in the South, 132,819³²⁵ free persons of color, many of whom were morally and mentally well fitted for what the Black Codes designed to give them, the suffrage. This element of the Southern population together with the majority of the House slaves would have probably furnished a base of about ten per cent of the total Negro population on which the new civilization would have been reared, had the South been permitted to test its plan. Having declared that the economic condition of the eleven States at the close of the war was "pitiable, their fear of Negro freedom genuine," Dr. DuBois maintains, "yet it was reasonable to expect from them something less than repression and utter reaction toward slavery."

Admitting that:

"To some extent this expectation was fulfilled: the abolition of slavery was recognized and the civil rights of owning property and appearing as a witness in cases in which he was a party were generally granted the Negro."³²⁶—

he promptly contradicts his own admission, with the assertion:

³²⁵Compendium Ninth Census U. S. p. 14.

³²⁶DuBois, *Reconstruction and Its Benefits* Am. Hist. Rev. Vol. IV, p. 784.

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"The Codes spoke for themselves. They have often been reprinted and quoted. No open minded student can read them without being convinced that they meant nothing more nor less than slavery in daily toil."³²⁷

Is this true? Can any student be absolutely open minded? A seer is a receiver and revealer of truths. Such a being can possibly approach the consideration of a subject with an open mind. One may imagine Socrates so approaching a subject; but by what process, by what mental cathartic, does one, who studies, divest his mind of all preconceived ideas of the subject every time he considers a theory concerning that which has interested him sufficiently to lead him to seek to know more of it?

No, the vast mass of us approach those subjects, when we are sincerely desirous of truth in the spirit of that individual who exclaimed to Christ—"Lord I believe, help thou mine unbelief." When the broken, beaten South attempted to frame the Codes, which no Negro has ever been able to consider judicially, the survivors could not possibly approach the condition they were in with an open mind. The greatest mind that has ever considered our great experiment in government, the French student De Tocqueville and that strong but shallower mind, that for so many years had with its resolutions overshadowed all others in the South, united in the dictum. Abolition means Africanization for the South. But the whites of the South were to a great extent British and Northern Irish in stock. They were eminently conservative. A stock greater in defeat

³²⁷Ibid.

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than in victory, as history has shown the British to be.

To obtain additional strength with which to withstand the flood of ignorance and incompetence let loose or about to break loose, they accepted the leadership of the poor white Andrew Johnson, despite the repugnance they felt for him, as keen and lively as any Englishman ever felt for Joe Chamberlain or Lloyd George or Ramsay McDonald. They did more. As far as legislation could affect it, they extended social equality to the least darkened of the dark race by which they were surrounded. The political principle, upon which they sought to adjust themselves to the changed condition, was based apparently upon the thought that if all the Southern whites and that proportion of the Colored population constituting about one-tenth, reasonably the most elevated in the minds of the theorists, from the fact that they closest approached the whites in physical texture, united, such union must strengthen the rulers even as it weakened the ruled. Dr. DuBois therefore is quite wrong when he intimates with some generosity, that the Black Codes were framed under hasty excitement, in declaring:

"To be sure it was not a time to look for calm, cool, thoughtful action on the part of the white South."³²⁸

No, whatever may eventually be found to be the character of the Black Codes of the beaten South, they bear upon their faces the imprint of cool, calm, thoughtful action. Even the most cursory consideration of them will disclose that they were framed

³²⁸Ibid.

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more for the irresponsible freedman than the freedmen in general; for instance, if the freedman owned a farm or had a permit, the possession of gun, pistol or sword, otherwise forbidden, was not denied. On the other hand the inhibition of the right of sale or barter of domestic produce did not apply to the Negro generally; but to the servant under contract with a master engaged in husbandry, and not even then, if the servant had written evidence from such master, or from a person authorized by him, or from a District Judge, whose oath specifically required him to do what was required by law "without prejudice for or against color."³²⁹ In addition the servant was given the right to—

"Depart from the master's service for an insufficient supply of wholesome food; for an unauthorized battery upon his own person or one of his family, not committed in defense of the person, family, guests or agents of the master, nor to prevent a crime or aggravated misdemeanor."³³⁰

The law went further. It gave the servant the right of departure coupled with the right to recover wages due for service rendered up to the time of his departure, for any—

"invasion of the conjugal rights of the servant, or his (employer's) failure to pay wages when due."³³¹

And not even the death of the master terminated the contract, without the assent of the servant, for the enforcement of which the servant had a lien as high as rent. And when wrongfully discharged

³²⁹Statutes S. C. Vol. XIII, p. 279.

³³⁰Ibid. p. 298.

³³¹Ibid.

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the servant was entitled to recover wages for the whole period of service, according to the contract.³³²

That the master was given the right to administer corporal punishment to the servant under some conditions cannot be denied; but the phraseology of the South Carolina Act is:

"The master may moderately correct servants who have made contracts and are under eighteen years of age"—³³³ but it also commanded:

"It shall also be his duty to protect his servant from violence by others in his presence."³³⁴

Yet it specifically provided that:

"Corporal punishment is intended to include only such modes of punishment, not affecting life or limb, as are used in the army or navy of the United States, adapted in kind and degree to the nature of the offense."³³⁵

Finally, not to prolong the discussion, when we note that the servant was not liable civilly or criminally for any act done by the command of the master, for any tort on the master's premises³³⁶ and that the former slave holder was not permitted to dispossess the non paying helpless former slave, for a year and a month from the occupancy of dwellings belonging to the former master, but occupied without any return by the former slave,³³⁷ and what elaborate provisions in detail were made for the care of such in his or her helpless condition, we will find that we look in vain in England, old or New, for such humanitarian legislation, at this date. Why

³³²Ibid.

³³³Ibid. p. 296.

³³⁴Ibid. p. 297.

³³⁵Ibid. p. 277.

³³⁶Ibid. p. 299.

³³⁷Ibid.

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then were the Codes overthrown? Dr. DuBois is prejudiced and naturally so. He is not as well informed as he deems himself to be; but he desires to be fair and just; and so we have from this, the most cultured member of the colored race in the United States, the real reason for "Reconstruction and its Benefits."

"The difficulties that stared Reconstruction politicians in the face were these: (a) They must act quickly. (b) Emancipation had increased the political power of the South by one sixth; could this increased political power be put in the hands of those, who in defense of slavery had disrupted the Union?"³³⁸

So, the terrific losses, which he himself itemizes were not enough. The beaten South was to be manacled. And how does he picture the victors in that dreadful hour?

"There might have been less stealing in the South during Reconstruction without negro suffrage but it is certainly highly instructive to remember that the mark of the thief which dragged its slime across nearly every great Northern state and almost up to the Presidential chair could not certainly in those cases be charged against the vote of black men. This was the day when a national secretary of war was caught stealing, a Vice President presumably took bribes, a private Secretary of the President, a chief clerk of the Treasury and eighty-six government officials stole millions in the whisky frauds, while the Credit Mobilier filched fifty millions and bribed the government to an extent never revealed; not to mention less distinguished thieves like Tweed."³³⁹

³³⁸DuBois, *Reconstruction and Its Benefits* Am. Hist. Rev. Vol. XIV, p. 782.

³³⁹*Ibid.* p. 790.

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Remember this is not a Southerner, black or white; but the most cultured of Northern colored men, who so describes the conquering East from which he sprang.

It is scarcely possible to state more comprehensively in less space than that in which Dr. DuBois describes the effects of Congressional Reconstruction:

"When incompetency gains political power in an extravagant age the result is widespread dishonesty."³⁴⁰

But he palliates this with the following:

"The dishonesty in the Reconstruction of the South was helped on by three circumstances:

1. The former dishonesty of the political South.
2. The presence of many dishonest Northern politicians.
3. The temptation to Southern politicians at once to profit by the dishonesty and to discredit Negro government.
4. The poverty of the negro."³⁴¹

He fails to furnish any authorized evidence of the first; but the three last should be accepted as in some degree exculpatory of the Negroes.

There is something almost pathetic in Dr. DuBois's description of the Negroes' contribution to Reconstruction:

"Undoubtedly there were many ridiculous things connected with Reconstruction governments: the placing of ignorant field hands who could neither read nor write in the Legislature, the golden spittoons of South Carolina, the enormous printing bill of Mississippi—all these were extravagant and funny, and yet somehow to one who sees beneath all that is

³⁴⁰Ibid.

³⁴¹Ibid.

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bizarre, the real human tragedy of the upward striving of down-trodden men, the groping for light among people born in darkness, there is less tendency to laugh and gibe than among shallower minds and easier consciences. All that is funny is not bad."³⁴²

And this he follows with what he means to be an indictment:

"—the greatest stigma on the white South is not that it opposed Negro suffrage and resented theft and incompetence, but that when it saw the reform movement growing and even in some cases triumphing, and a larger & a larger number of black voters learning to vote for honesty and ability, it still preferred a Reign of Terror to a campaign of education, and disfranchised Negroes instead of punishing rascals."³⁴³

When we reflect that the Confederate generals, Wade Hampton, Kershaw and McGowan, as has been shown, all supported the revolt of Delany, Cain and William Hannibal Thomas, against Chamberlain and R. B. Elliott in 1874 in South Carolina, and that in the columns of "The Crisis," today, Elliott is eulogized as a great representative of the colored race; while no mention has ever appeared of those two Northern Negroes who most conspicuously opposed the evils of Reconstruction, Martin Delany and William Hannibal Thomas, we can only acquit Dr. DuBois of insincerity on the ground of rank carelessness and immovable prejudice.

The summing up of this very interesting defense of Reconstruction and plea for the Negroes as law-makers is unquestionably an able presentation:

³⁴²Ibid. p. 791.

³⁴³Ibid. p. 793.

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"Reconstruction constitutions practically unaltered were kept in:

Florida, 1868-1885	17 years
Virginia, 1870-1902	32 years
South Carolina, 1868-1895	27 years
Mississippi, 1868-1890	22 years

Even in the case of States like Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina and Louisiana, which adopted new constitutions to signify the overthrow of Negro rule, the new constitutions are nearer the model of the Reconstruction document than they are to the previous constitutions. They differ from the Negro Constitution in minor details, but very little in general conception. Besides this there stands on the statute books of the South today law after law passed between 1868 and 1876 and which has been found wise effective and worthy of preservation. Paint the carpet bag governments and Negro rule as black as may be, the fact remains that the essence of the revolution which the overturning of the Negro Governments made was to put these black men and their friends out of power. Outside of the curtailing of expenses and stopping of extravagance, not only did their successors make few changes in the work which these Legislatures and Conventions had done, but they largely carried out their plans, followed their suggestions, and strengthened their institutions. Practically the whole new growth of the South has been accomplished under laws which black men helped to frame thirty years ago. I know of no greater compliment to Negro suffrage."³⁴⁴

It would be idle to deny that these Reconstruction constitutions were other than most effective.

William Hannibal Thomas, who might be fitly described as in charge of the rear guard when the Negro government fell in South Carolina and who has criticised the Black Codes even more severely than Dr. DuBois, states:

³⁴⁴Ibid. p. 799.

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"The Constitutions of the Reconstructed States were framed by white men under the direction and with the approval of the best legal intelligence of America."³⁴⁵

They were framed to complete the conquest of the overthrown States, Dr. Dodd puts it thus:

"The cause of the planters had gone down in irretrievable disaster. For forty years they had contended with their rivals of the North, and having staked all on the wager of battle they had lost. Just four years before they had entered with unsurpassed zeal and enthusiasm upon the gigantic task of winning their independence. They had made the greatest fight in history up to that time. Lost the flower of their manhood and wealth untold. They now renewed once and for all time their allegiance to the Union, which had up to that time been an experiment, a government of uncertain powers. More than three hundred thousand lives and not less than four billions of dollars had been sacrificed in the fight of the South. The planter culture, the semi-feudalism of the 'Old South' was annihilated, while the industrial and financial system of the East was triumphant. The cost to the North had been six hundred thousand lives and an expense to the governments, State and National, of at least five billion dollars. But the East was the mistress of the United States, and the social and economic ideals of that section were to be stamped permanently upon the country."³⁴⁶

The war having ended in a complete conquest of the South and a sentimental control of the vigorous West, expanded by the East as it exploited the broken South; through the destruction of the codes and the imposition of Congressional Reconstruction, the whites of the South were welded into a new mass, cruder and tougher and not unnaturally quite inimical to the Negro who had been made to rule over

³⁴⁵Thomas, *The American Negro*, p. 307.

³⁴⁶Dodd, *Expansion and Conflict* p. 328.

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them, until by revolutionary methods they had overthrown such. That they, the Negroes, and the Western whites had all been subjected to the control of the East as thoroughly as economic laws could subject them to it, was not for decades appreciated in the South or West.

Had Lincoln not been assassinated and had he remained true to his Western ideals, he would have been broken on the wheel of capitalism as relentlessly as was his great Southern successor, who struck down Germany in her hour of triumph. But Lincoln was spared that test and died without realizing the entire measure of his service to the Union and the whites who inhabited it; for to him the Negroes were a negligible quantity, despite all the phrases with which he utilized them, in his purpose of preserving the Union. Indeed it was not until the fountains of the great deep were broken in the World War, that the inevitable consequences of emancipation forced themselves upon public opinion, and, in this connection, a small episode, of the above related meeting of the American Historical Association in 1909, throws some light upon the state of mind of the East at that date.

At the same meeting in which Dr. DuBois read his bold, elaborate and interesting defense of Congressional Reconstruction, the author of this study submitted, on request, a paper on the Negro question, in accordance with the limitations, which, while accepted and edited for publication by the Board, was not permitted publication in the Report of the Historical Association, Mr. Charles D. Walcott hav-

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ing the power to exclude it from such, and using the power. That the skeleton piece of 1750 words was to some slight degree critical of the East is not to be denied; but if the Eastern scholars rose above their prejudices when presented with truth why could not the official? The gist of the little paper when printed does not appear very inflammatory.

“Says a distinguished Northern writer—‘The North is learning every day by valuable experiences that there are vast differences in political capacity between the races.’ Certainly nothing has afforded such an opportunity for the North to acquire these valuable experiences day by day, as the diffusion of the Negroes throughout the Union. Meanwhile as the masses in the South are reduced the Negroes will not constitute, to the degree they now do, the criminal class; their good qualities must become more noticeable and their bad ones excite less that intense or contemptuous regard, which has, in the minds of many Southern men, made Negro and criminal almost synonymous terms. The war made the Negro question a national question, and it is too late to say—‘the man of the South must be trusted to work out this (the evolution of the Negro race to higher conditions) in his own good time’ and that ‘he is charged with the burden and must bear it.’ That is a sectional attitude just to neither the Negro nor the white man of the South. In time and with greatly reduced numbers of the Negroes about him, the Southern white man may change the view, which inheritance of ideas almost forces him to hold, viz., that the Negro is essentially servile; but that is his sentiment today; and while, therefore, he may be best fitted to rule him as such, he is not constituted to assist him in the evolution to a higher condition. As they spread out, the Negroes must come more and more in contact with all grades of our civilization and from such draw the lessons best adapted to their own development. The sentiment therefore, which would deny them this; which would seek to confine the masses to the South, deciding for them that it is their natural

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home and having but little sympathy for them beyond the pale, is in my opinion, the greatest obstacle to their advancement and, to some degree, a cause of moral deterioration of the higher race.³⁴⁷

But while Dr. DuBois and the author of this study, in response to the invitation of Dr. Hart, before the historians of the United States were discussing, each in his own way, a subject they thought of some importance, it is of interest to consider what was occupying the mind of the wisest and most neglected Negro in the United States, at the same time. About the same date William Hannibal Thomas wrote to the author of this study:

"It has long been my dream to see all the railroads under one management. Therefore had I the influence and cooperation of others, I would procure a charter from the Congress of the United States creating a National Railway Company capitalized at fifteen billion of dollars and empowered to issue bonds for a like amount. Five great subdivisions would be created. All south of the Potomac river and east of the Mississippi would constitute the Southern division. New England the Eastern division. New York and the states north and east of the Mississippi, would form the central division. Westward of that great river there would be a northern and southern Pacific division. Such in brief is the scheme I have in mind and, as an economical factor in National uplift, I know of but one other thing that would surpass it.³⁴⁸

We might measure the scope of this Negro's dream in the autumn of 1909, by the following news item of April 17, 1923, which apparently was only another dream:

³⁴⁷Paper, American Hist. Asso. 1909.

³⁴⁸Thomas, Letter to author, November 20, 1909.

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"Legislation to make affective the plans being worked out by the interstate commerce commission for consolidation and regional supervision of the railroad systems of the country will be undertaken in the next Congress, Chairman Cummins of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee said today, after a discussion of the railroad problem with President Harding—"I think consolidation for the railway system as initiated in the transportation act is the only means of gaining the efficiency that the country requires of the railroads," said Senator Cummins. Moreover it seems to me to be the only method of bringing down freight rates on commodities on which the rate must be lowered."³⁴⁹

Whatever difference of opinion may exist amongst railway experts as to the merits of the legislation concerning railroads which the Iowa senator has made his name synonymous with, few doubt his knowledge. Yet he would seem to be just about fourteen years behind the neglected Ohio Negro, whose opportunities were restricted to two sessions of the South Carolina legislature in Reconstruction days. Is there anything that has ever been resolved with regard to railroads better calculated to serve the general public, than that introduced by Thomas, when opposing the most brilliant of the Carpet Baggers, Daniel H. Chamberlain, in 1874?—

"VIII. We hold that all franchises granted by the State should be subservient to the public good; that charges for travel and freight should be equitable and uniform and no unjust discrimination be made between through and local travel."³⁵⁰

Both conventions had to subscribe to that; but if it represented the views of Daniel H. Chamberlain,

³⁴⁹*Charleston Evening Post*, April 17, 1923.

³⁵⁰*News and Courier*, October 5, 1874.

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the Reformers under Thomas and others must be credited with some influence in turning him from his earlier views on railroads, when he was the legal guardian of the State.

Observe him, fresh from the East.

“Office of the Attorney General,
Columbia, S. C. January 5, 1870.

My dear Kimpton: Parker arrived last evening and spoke of the G. & C. matter, etc. I told him I had just written you fully on that matter and also about the old Bk. bills. Do you understand fully the plan of the G. & C. enterprise? It is proposed to buy \$350,000 worth of the G. & C. Stock. This with \$433,000 of stock held by the State, will give entire control to us. The Laurens branch will be sold in February by decree of court and will cost not more than \$50,000 and probably not more than \$40,000. The Spartanburg and Union can also be got without difficulty. We shall then have in G. & C. 168 miles, in Laurens, 31, and in S. & U. 70 miles—in all 269 miles—equipped and running—put a first mortgage of \$20,000 a mile—sell the bonds at \$85 or \$90, and the balance, after paying all outlays for cost and repairs, is immense, over \$2,000,000. There is a mint of money in this or I am a fool. Then we will soon compel the S. C. R. R. to fall into our hands and complete the connection to Asheville, N. C. There is an infinite verge of expansion of power before us. Write me fully and tell me every thing you want done. My last letter was very full. Harrison shall be attended to at once. I don't think Neagle will make any trouble. Parker hates Neagle, and magnifies his intentions.

Yours truly,
D. H. Chamberlain”³⁵¹

What a terrible indictment of the Negro intelligentsia is their utter neglect of William Hannibal Thomas, the great Negro who could think of something more than himself and his race, who wished to serve humanity at large.

³⁵¹Allen, Gov. Chamberlain's Administration, p. 143.

CHAPTER XIV

With the year 1914, the world entered a new era of thought, for the effect upon civilization of that great convulsion which afflicted the world in 1914 was felt far beyond the arenas upon which the World War was fought. The conflict was on too gigantic a scale for it to be grasped during its waging. It tested civilization to a supreme degree. Loosely knit bonds, that in all reason should have parted under the immense strain to which they were submitted, held all the tighter under the tugs to which they were subjected. That portion of humanity which had least to give, gave with a fullness beyond the imagination of man. Nothing in all time has ever equalled the volunteer movement of the men of Britain and her dominion states. Conscription might have produced a more efficient army and less weakened the State; but the great soldier and greater man, who in the main fashioned the armies of Britain to the admiration of his country's foes, knew that, in that great hour, nothing could equal the moral effect of that wonderful volunteer movement. Democracy was put to the test and rang absolutely true.

So much happened before the United States flung her immense force into the scale, that an infinitude of fact has passed from the memory of men. Never in the history of the world was it more thoroughly demonstrated, that "Order is (not) heaven's first law." Democracy moved up to the sacrifice unfalteringly. Autocracy broke under the strain and, in his own appointed time and in spite of all that

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man proposed, God disposed of the event, in a way no one could have dreamed of. But before the great Republic of the West intervened, in many ways the United States was affected, and in none more profoundly than by the migration of the Negroes from the South and their diffusion throughout the country. The war between the States and emancipation had made this diffusion only a question of time and it had been progressing with a quickened and then a retarded flow, during the decades previous to the Great War; but the war's great check on immigration from Europe speeded up the movement. Lecturing at the University of Chicago in June, 1916, the author of this study was struck with the nature of the reception accorded the subject: "The Readjustment of the Negro to the Social System of the Sixties," in which the necessity for diffusion was stressed.

Active from 1890 to 1900, later, the standard of living of the Northern Negro had risen, and just as capital in the North and West had forced out the English, German and Irish workmen and replaced them with cheaper and inferior people; so too, the Northern Negro could not live as cheaply as the Slav, Greek, Italian and Slovene.³⁵² These in their turn, however, the World War had been sweeping away, since the middle of 1914; and, while the sentimental regard for the Negro's advancement, which had been very broad and active a generation earlier, had gradually become restricted to assisting in fitting him for a residence in "his natural home, the

³⁵²Warne, *Immigrant Invasion*, p. 174.

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South," the need for the brawn and sinew which he could supply, being felt in the North and West, in obedience to its demand, the Negro, for a consideration, was moving out of "his natural home"; for the philanthropy of the North, the greatest in the world, as it draws its supplies from, is to some degree, subservient to, the commercialism of its section.

Almost contemporaneously with the lectures in the great Western city, which is destined to be the center of Northern Negro opinion, from the metropolis of the Union came an utterance of immense importance from the most aggressive, intelligent and humane publication, spreading out its influence from the center of American and world finance.

As viewed by *The New Republic*, the situation in the summer of 1916 was thus stated:

"To the Northern Negro the war in Europe has been of immense and unexpected advantage. It has shut out the immigrant who is the Negro's most dangerous competitor, has doubled the demand for the Negro's labor, raised his wages, and given chances to him, which in the ordinary course would have gone to white men. If immigration still lags after the war or is held down by law, the Negro will secure the great opportunity for which he has been waiting these fifty years . . . In Southern cities, Atlanta, Memphis, Birmingham, Richmond, Nashville, Savannah, Charleston, Mobile, Negroes constitute one-third to one-half the population and more than that proportion of the wage earners and are given a chance to earn their living, because, without them, the work of these cities could not be done. In the city of Philadelphia, on the other hand, Negroes form only 5½ per cent of the population, in Chicago only 2 per cent, in New York a little less than 2 per cent. . . . If white men will not work with them, if the employer is forced to

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choose between a large supply of white labor and a small supply of Negro labor, he will choose the former. . . . The Negro gets a chance to work only when there is no one else. . . . The wronged are always wrong and so we blame the Negro. If we are fair, however, we must place the responsibility of a social effect for those responsible for the cause. If the Northern Negroes have a higher death rate and breed a larger proportion of criminals and prostitutes than do the whites, it is in large part our own fault. We cannot understand the problems of the Negro in the North unless we constantly bear in mind the fact of industrial opportunity. The Northern Negro has the right to vote, the right and duty to send his children to school, and technically, at least, many civil and political rights. We do not put him into Jim Crow cars or hold him in prison camps for private exploitation. Nevertheless, the pressure upon him is almost as painful, though not nearly so brutal or debasing, as that upon the Southern Negro. The Northern Negro is urged to rise but held down hard. . . Immigration after the war seems likely to be kept down at a low level during several years or possibly decades. . . . It is the Negro's chance, the first extensive widening of his industrial field since emancipation."³⁵³

The fact that this very able statement is not entirely exact in all its details takes very little from the value of the presentation of it. As has been disclosed by Mr. Warne, in his, "Immigrant Invasion," the Negro had quite a chance until the decade 1900-1910. That he did not improve it as fully as he might have done was due; first, to his ignorance; second, to his retention for quite a while of servile instincts; third, to the determination, on the part of a very considerable and influential portion of the Northern and Western public, that the Negro must be kept out of the North and West; and of the con-

³⁵³The New Republic, June 24, 1916.

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trolling portion of the Southern public, assisted by the Republican Supreme Court of the United States, that he should be kept, as near to the condition of a serf of the soil in the South, as he could be by those so restraining him, keeping themselves, meanwhile, on the windy side of the law; fourth, to an active, continuous, well financed propaganda, led by the most influential member of the race, that he should cling to the South.

Against such forces what could be affected by the few Southern white men, Carlyle McKinley, Wade Hampton, and M. C. Butler, as early as 1889, preaching "Diffusion"?

North and South, in the main for purely selfish reasons, the force of the country was against diffusion of the Negro and for banking him in the South, where he had been so long a slave. For such a paper, therefore, as *The New Republic*, to advocate diffusion was a matter of the very first importance.

Continuing the discussion in its issue of July 1, 1916. *The New Republic* declared:

"For the nation as a whole, such a gradual dissemination of the Negro among all the States would ultimately be of real advantage. If at the end of half a century, only 50 per cent or 60 per cent instead of 89 per cent of the Negroes were congregated in the Southern States, it would end the fear of race domination, and take from the South many of its peculiar characteristics, which today hamper development. To the Negro it would be of even more obvious benefit. . . . For if the Southern Negro finding political and social conditions intolerable, were to migrate to the North, he would have in his hand a weapon as effective, as any he could find, in the ballot box. . . . Against the opposition of the preponderant white population, the Southern Negro has

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few defenses. He has no vote, he has no wealth; and as for the protection of the law, that is a sword held by the white man with the edge towards the Negro. He cannot better his condition by political action or armed revolt. His one defense is to move away."³⁵⁴

Weighing duly what is urged above, without necessarily accepting all of it as accurate, is it not apparent, that, for a Southern white man to argue that the Negroes should remain in the South, in the masses in which they now exist there, is an indication that he refuses to consider anything as beneficial, which affects industrial conditions he has become accustomed to? For the Negro so to think is simply the survival of the servile instinct, which the bulk of the Southern whites claim is latent in all Negroes.

To stress the matter a little further, the view of a Southern and a Northern Negro will be submitted and contrasted.

The first is the view of a colored man, Rev. Richard Carroll, who, in 1890, had attracted the attention of George William Curtis, as has been before mentioned, by his bold and original utterance, that Tillman had made the whites as well as the Negroes readers and thinkers. Some eight years later this colored man had served as the chaplain of a colored regiment in Cuba. Later he had occupied himself with a colored school near Columbia, South Carolina, and, to some extent, had become, to the press of the State of South Carolina, the type of the good Negro, who agrees with the best of the whites. That is the distinct ear mark of the "Good Negro."

³⁵⁴Ibid July 1, 1916.

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Describing the departure of the Negroes from South Carolina in 1916, he states that:

"Hon. H. C. Tillman, son of Senator B. R. Tillman, told me that in the crowd were one or two of the farm hands that had signed contracts to work next year, but that he would not interfere with them."

Next he describes the tearful, melodramatic appeal of a Georgia divine, entreating the Negroes not to leave the South:

"We have not treated you right; we are going to do better. Let us, white and colored unite to solve the race question on Southern soil. We are in debt to you colored people. First of all we owe you the Gospel; then we owe you protection before the law. There will be no more outrages when we take up this problem, as we should, and solve it by the Gospel."

Having shown the patriotic unselfishness of Captain Tillman and quoted the wail of the Georgia divine, the colored educator proceeds to state his own view:

"This is the country for the black man; the white people of the South should offer the proper inducements and protection before the law to keep the colored people in the Southland. . . . It may be as many of our colored people say: 'God is in this movement.' But I believe that if the colored people of the South had worked together for the last fifty years for the good of each race and at the same time each race in its place, we would have had better conditions; in the South—no lynchings, no cause for lynchings. If the best people in the South had kept it in the hands of the Gen. Wade Hampton type, this would have been the greatest country on earth."

Just about fifty years before Carroll's utterance, people in the South, to some degree answering to

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Carroll's description of the Hampton type, framed the Black Codes, as they thought, "for the good of each race, and at the same time each race in its place." But, after Reconstruction, Wade Hampton thought diffusion of the Negro was the only remedy.

After detailing cases, where he claimed to know that Negro men of property had been ordered out of the State simply because they owned property and were prosperous, Carroll states that when they came to him for advice, he advised them to—

"try to get to some other white men in the county or community, as there are plenty of white men in South Carolina, who would give justice and protection."³⁵⁵

The Black Codes made this obligatory on all masters for their servants. The framers of the codes were raised in the school of politics which Rhett, in 1850, announced the basic principle of, as follows:

"Where there is but one race in a community there may be political equality in rights—but this cannot give equality in mind, character and condition. Servitude still prevails in one form or another, from a necessity as stern as the laws. But when the races are different and one race is inferior to the other, the inferior race must be exterminated or fall into such a state of subjection as to present motives for their preservation to the stronger race."³⁵⁶

Residence in the South, a considerable time after maturity, had therefore apparently lessened the independence of this colored man. He had come, not unnaturally, to prefer security to independence.

But, in the same year and about the same time, there appeared in the same paper a temperately

³⁵⁵*News and Courier*, December 17, 1916.

³⁵⁶Rhett's Oration on Calhoun, Pamphlets Vol. 8 p. 151 Johnston C.L.S.

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worded article from the pen of another Negro, also a minister, R. R. Wright, Jr., residing in Philadelphia, who had been employed at various times by the United States Bureau of Labor and the University of Pennsylvania.

He had also, at an earlier date, published an essay on the Negro Problem, which treats the subject as a scientific investigation, in which all temper and feeling is out of place. With regard to the movement of the Negroes he declared there had been at least four different migrations of the Negroes from the South to the North since the war between the States, and estimating in 1916 that there were then, in that section, usually called the North but embracing a considerable portion of the West, he thought, of the 1,600,000 Negroes there, three fourths had been born in the South. With regard to the number of Negroes in the North at that date this estimate was above what the Census of 1920 disclosed; for by it, the date 1910, there were only 1,059,000 Negroes in the North and West and therefore, even if they had increased by 1916 to 1,600,000, three fourths of these could not have been from the South, even if the total addition of 541,000 had come from that section, as of the 1,059,000 in 1910, only forty per cent were from the South;³⁵⁷ but whether 40%, 50% or 75% were from the South, Wright believed 80% of those who had moved up would stay, because he was confident, the most efficient could compete with the Slavs and Italians in rough work. Indeed he claimed it was no uncommon thing to see a Negro

³⁵⁷Bureau U. S. Census 1910 Bulletin 129, p. 64.

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foreman over groups of Italians in Pennsylvania. Having seen the same thing practically as to Negroes and Spaniards, during the World War the writer can believe this. Higher wages and better educational facilities also Wright claimed would draw the Negro, North and West, and finally he cited what is in his opinion the most powerful inducement, for the Negro to move in increasing numbers from the South to the North:

"The opportunity to vote will also tend to hold them. Politicians are encouraging Negroes to remain; as they are very generally Republican. Northern Negroes are encouraging them to stay because it gives them more power; and after the Negro casts his vote and takes part in political meetings, he is just like the naturalized foreigner—he likes it and stays. Of course the white people rule, because superior intelligence and wealth always rule. But the black man enjoys being a part of the Government and being called upon every year to have his "say". . . While there is no more social equality in the North than there is in the South, and practically no desire for the same, the longer the Negro lives there, the opportunities to enjoy himself according to his means appeal to him. He earns more money, can live in a better house, buy better clothes, develops more accomplishments, has more leisure and has more protection in his enjoyment. Personally, I think it is good both for the Negroes and for the whites that a million or two million Negroes leave the South. It will make room for a large number of foreigners to come to the South and will tend to divorce the South's labor problem more widely from its race problem, and will give it a new perspective. It will also rob the South of the fear of 'Negro domination' and will give it a chance to give a better expression to our democratic principles. On the other hand the scattering the Negroes throughout the country will bring them in touch with the forces of organized labor in a way to bring them

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better protection, while it will also acquaint the North with the Negro in such a way as to give it a more intelligent grasp of our general problem of racial relations."³⁵⁸

Meanwhile with views for and views against, shouted to them, from all sides, the Negroes moved up from the South to the North and West and to the great centers of industry, to supply the place of immigrants and soldiers passed and passing to Europe for the great war.

To the reading Negro, wherever he was, North or South in this year just before the entrance of the great Republic into the greatest war of all time, came "The New Negro, His Political and Civil Status and Related Essays," by William Pickens, Lit. D. Easily comprehended, popularly composed, they opened with the usual attack upon the black laws of the South in the sixties, the author especially singling out the code of South Carolina for criticism. Of them generally he says:

"From the standpoint of the Negro's interests, however, these laws were 'black', not only in name and aim, but in their very nature. Instead of being the property of a personally interested master, the Negro was to be converted into the slave of a much less sympathetic society in general."³⁵⁹

But strange to say this critic, in 1916, actually proclaims that—

"One of the greatest handicaps under which the New Negro lives is the handicap of the lack of acquaintanceship between him and his white neighbor. Under the former order, when practically all Negroes were either slaves or

³⁵⁸R. R. Wright Jr. *Letter News and Courier*, November 6, 1916.

³⁵⁹Pickens, *The New Negro*, p. 18.

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servants, every Negro had the acquaintance of some white man; as a race he was better known, better understood and was, therefore, the object of less suspicion on the part of the white community."³⁶⁰

If this was a handicap in 1916, what must it have been in 1865? Forty one years before this Negro scholar discovered the handicap, the South, in attempting to readjust itself to the consequences of defeat and the overthrow of its industrial system, had legislated to preserve that acquaintanceship by a system of apprenticeship, which if it was calculated to work out the problem very slowly; yet was calculated to produce something superior even to the free persons of color that slavery had evolved, a worthy product which no Negro or Northern scholar has ever had the patience to think about. Little as the author of this study knows about the free persons of color whom the South reared; yet it is not fair to accuse them of what Pickens is absolutely justified in stating with regard to the mass of Southern colored citizens who were the product of Congressional Reconstruction. Pickens indeed is refreshingly frank in this respect and so much so that the Negroes will avoid his book. It will not be found advertised in any list of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored Race. He is dangerously near William Hannibal Thomas in the following:

"Till this day the Negro is seldom frank to the white man in America. He says what he does not mean; he means what he does not say. I have heard Negro speakers address mixed audiences of white and colored persons and both white

³⁶⁰Ibid. p. 228.

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and black go away rejoicing, each side thinking that the speaker had spoken their opinions, altho the opinions of the blacks were very different from those of the whites, even contradictory. This is one reason for the great misconception in the white race respecting the desires, ambitions and sentiments of the black."³⁶¹

But in the year which followed that in which Pickens's book was published the United States entered the World War.

Before discussing the effect of that great adventure upon the Negro minority of one-tenth of the population of the United States, the force which swung the whole should have some slight consideration, and from the pen of a political opponent, the editor of the greatest Republican paper of the West this is pictured as follows:

"Our chief admiration for Mr. Wilson is for the manner in which he drove the war activities once we were committed. That determination was evolved from his character. He used conscription. He furnished the Allies with what they needed—men, money and materials in the amounts needed. Weakness at this time might have ruined us. A man less determined to have his own way, less impervious to what was said of him, might have flinched at conscripting soldiers. He might have tried to fight the war with volunteers. He might even have tried to fight it with money and materials. He might have tried to spare the nation human sacrifices or to limit the expenditure of human life. Then we should have entered a losing war and have been among the losers, just in time to be in the wreckage. Conscription was his big decision and whether he realized it or not was his most dangerous one. Hughes might have had serious draft riots. From Wilson the people took the draft with hardly a murmur, and the war was won right then. The President did not allow the people to draw back from a drop in the

³⁶¹Ibid. p. 37.

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cup. He took their money. He spent it without a thought for the waste of it. There had to be waste. He put the United States behind the Allies with a promise of the last man and the last dollar. It required courage, intelligence and character; and all the ruggedness and wilfulness of Mr. Wilson's temperament served the country as it needed to be served. Those were the high moments of his career. He sent 2,000,000 men to France before the astonished Germans thought that it was possible to do so. He had 2,000,000 in America training camps and more were being drafted. Then also from the White House came the thunders of rhetoric which stupefied the German people behind their armies and disintegrated them in the rear of their fighting forces. As American divisions put the pressure on German divisions, Mr. Wilson's words destroyed the morale of the German people who had been steadfast; and the war was won."³⁶²

But he did more, a Southerner, conscious of the deep prejudices of his own section and against the protests of many State officials, he determined that a certain proportion of colored men should have training as officers; nor did he permit this military training to be stopped even after the Houston riot, when for the second time Negro soldiery shot up a Southern city. Those who were guilty were court martialed promptly; but to the surprise of not a few of the Negro aspirants for office, the training of Negro officers proceeded. Again not quoting from a friend; but taking a Negro's statement we note:

"As many as 1200 men became commissioned officers . . . Negro nurses were authorized by the War Department for service in base hospitals at six army camps—Funston, Sherman, Zachary Taylor and Dodge, and women served as can-teen workers in France and in charge of hostess houses in

³⁶²*Chicago Tribune.*

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the United States. Sixty Negro men served as chaplains, 350 as Y. M. C. A. secretaries and others in special capacities . . . In the whole matter of the War the depressing incident was the Court Martial of sixty-three members of the Twenty Fourth Infantry, U. S. A. on trial for rioting and the murder of seventeen people at Houston Texas, August 23rd, 1917. As a result of it thirteen of the defendants were hanged, December 11th, forty-nine sentences to imprisonment for life, four for imprisonment for shorter terms and four were acquitted."³⁶³

President Wilson's action in this matter was a vindication of President Roosevelt's action in the previous riot at Brownsville and a stern condemnation of the sentimentalists, white and black whose strictures upon Roosevelt had led the Negro soldiery to harbor the amazing idea, that troops of any color could take the law into their own hands and make Zaberens in America, on a scale beyond the wildest imaginations of any War Lord's minions, in Europe.

³⁶³Brawley, *Short History of American Negro*, p. 357.

CHAPTER XV

In the year immediately following the end of the great World War armed clashes between whites and Negroes in the United States occurred in the great cities of the North and West, Washington, Chicago and Omaha and also in the State of Arkansas. These race riots drew comment from whites and Negroes. Prior to these riots in the time of peace, there had been others during the World War at Chester and Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania and one in Illinois at East St. Louis. Both Dr. DuBois, the president of "The National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People," and the colored minister Wright, whose article on Negro migration has been alluded to, gave advice. It is interesting to compare their utterances. The communication of the minister is first cited.

"To my dear Brethren and Friends:

Permit me to say this word to you in this time of most serious anxiety. You have read of the riots in St. Louis, Philadelphia, and Chester, Pennsylvania during the Great World War and in Washington and Chicago since the close. When the facts have been finally sifted, they have always shown that the colored people did not start these riots. They were started by whites in every instance. If there are to be riots in the future I want to say to my people let it be as it has been in the past, that you shall not be the instigators of them. It is to the everlasting disgrace of these Northern cities as it has been of certain Southern cities, that these riots have been started by whites, and that white policemen who should be the first to uphold the law have, in nearly every instance assisted the mobs. Now is the time for all of us to keep our wits: to do nothing wrong, which may be any excuse for riot. Let men and women go about

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their work quietly, attending to their business. Keep away from saloons and places where there is gambling. More trouble starts in these places than anywhere else. Avoid arguments. Make no boasts. Make no threats. Attack no man nor woman without due provocation, and under no circumstances hurt a child. Don't tell anybody what the Negroes are going to do to the whites. For we do not want war; we want peace. Our safety is in peace. Don't loaf in the streets; do not needlessly encounter gangs of white boys. A gang of boys from 15 to 20 years is generally irresponsible. A gang of white toughs will delight to 'jump' a lone Negro, especially if they number eight or a dozen and believe the Negro is unarmed; and it is foolish to give them the chance. In trading as nearly as possible get the right change before paying your bill; know what you want, where you can trade with your own people, where you are not liable to get into a dispute. Don't go to white theatres, white ice cream places, white banks or white stores, where you can find colored to serve you just as well. In other words don't spend your hard earned money where you are in danger of being beaten up. Don't carry concealed weapons—its against the law. Now I am not urging cowardice. I am urging common sense. I am urging law and order. Protect your home, protect your wife and children, with your life, if necessary. If a man crosses your threshold after you or your family, the law allows you to protect your home even if you have to kill the intruder. Obey the law but do not go hunting for trouble. Avoid it. Do not be afraid or lose heart because of these riots. They are merely symptoms of the protest of your entrance into a higher sphere of American citizenship. They are the dark hours before morning which have always come just before the burst of a new civic light. Some people see this light and they provoke these riots endeavoring to stop it from coming. But God is working. Things will be better for the Negro. We want full citizenship ballot, equal school facilities and everything else. We fought for them. We will have them; we must not yield. The greater part of the best thinking white people, North and South know we are entitled to all we ask. They know

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we will get it. In their hearts they are for us though they may fear the lower elements who are trying to stir up trouble to keep us from getting our rights. But they will fail just as they failed to keep us from our freedom. God is with us. They cannot defeat God. So I say to you stand aside, stand prepared, provoke no riot; just let God do his work. He may permit a few riots just to force the Negroes closer together. He lets the hoodlums kill a few in order to teach the many that WE MUST GET TOGETHER. But he does not mean that we shall be defeated—if we trust him. Let us learn the lesson He is teaching us. Remember a riot may break out in any place. Let pastors caution peace, prayer and preparedness. Let us provoke no trouble. Let us urge our congregations to keep level heads and do nothing that is unlawful.

Yours in Christian bonds,

R. R. Wright, Jr.

Editor of the Christian Recorder."³⁶⁴

The appeal of DuBois is more dramatic:

"Brothers we are on the Great Deep. We have cast off on the vast voyage which will lead to Freedom or Death. For three centuries we have suffered and cowered. No race ever gave Passive Resistance and Submission to Evil longer, more piteous trial. Today we raise the terrible weapon of Self Defense. When the murderer comes he shall no longer strike us in the back. When the armed lynchers gather, we too must gather armed. When the mob moves we propose to meet it with bricks and clubs and guns. But we must tread here with solemn caution. We must never let justifiable self defense against individuals become blind and lawless offense against all white folk. We must not seek reform by violence. We must not seek vengeance. Vengeance is Mine saith the Lord; or to put it otherwise—only infinite Justice and Knowledge can assign blame in this poor world and we ourselves are sinful men, struggling desperately with our own crime and ignorance. We must de-

³⁶⁴Kerlin, *The Voice of the Negro*, p. 21.

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fend ourselves, our homes, our wives and children against the lawless without stint or hesitation; but we must carefully and scrupulously avoid on our own part bitter and unjustifiable aggression against anybody. The line is difficult to draw. In the South the Police and Public Opinion back the mob and the least resistance on the part of the innocent black victim is nearly always construed as a lawless attack on society and government. In the North the Police and the Public will dodge and falter, but in the end they will back the Right when the truth is made clear to them. But whether the line between just resistance and angry retaliation is hard or easy, we must draw it carefully, not in wild resentment, but in grim and sober consideration; and when back of the impregnable fortress of the Divine Right of Self Defense, which is sanctioned by every law of God and man, in every land, civilized or uncivilized, we must take our unflinching stand. Honor, endless and undying Honor, to every man, black or white, who in Houston, East St. Louis, Washington and Chicago gave his life for Civilization and Order. If the United States is to be a Land of Law, we would live humbly and peaceably in it—working, singing, learning and dreaming to make it and ourselves nobler and better; if it is to be a Land of Mobs and Lynchers, we might as well die today as tomorrow.

‘And how can a man die better
Than facing fearful odds
For the ashes of his fathers
And the temples of his Gods?’

The Crisis (New York) September.”³⁶⁵

In a consideration of these two utterances, if it be conceded that in point of literary excellence, DuBois’s appeal is superior, yet that does not establish that in his call he better plays the part of leader than the Negro minister, first quoted, whose exhortation to his race, unlike that of DuBois, is in no

³⁶⁵Ibid. p. 20.

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way overstrained, nor pitched too high for the humblest, if possessed of rudimentary intelligence, to grasp. The detailed instructions in Wright's publication, simple as they are, contain wisdom, the wisdom which crieth out in the streets from of old; while if the comparison instituted, by DuBois between the Northern and the Southern whites, in respect to the police and public opinion in the two sections, is true, it is passing strange, that unlike the Negro minister, he is not found advising the migration from the worse to the better section, as far as the needs of his race are concerned. If in the North, even if justice moves limpingly as he describes; yet according to him justice does move. And for the poor and oppressed what gain can outweigh justice? But there is a graver comparison to be instituted between these calls. DuBois in his publication exclaims:

"Honor, endless and undying Honor, to every man, black or white who in Houston, East St. Louis, Washington and Chicago gave his life for Civilization and Order."

Now whatever wrongs or supposed wrongs the Negro soldiery suffered in Houston, can it be reasonably contended that they, armed by the Federal Government and enlisting to be under its orders, in breaking away from the control of their superior officers and with weapons put in their hands for other purposes, in any way assisted civilization and order by precipitating themselves upon the white population in an attempt to shoot up the city? If he does so claim then he is worse than the Negro soldiery who so acted, or those Negroes and whites,

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no matter who they were, who criticised Roosevelt's action in the Brownsville matter. No matter to what lofty station Roosevelt's critics may have been advanced; no matter what service they may claim to have rendered peace and civilization, their weakness in that first instance induced the graver breach, for which, under President Wilson, as commander-in-chief, the Negro soldiery were courtmartialled and punished for their excesses at Houston. Yet while the perusal of DuBois's call, as above, does not convey a positive stand for or against the Negro soldiery and is open to the criticism which appears in Pickens's book:

"Till this day the Negro is seldom frank to the white man. He says what he does not mean; he means what he does not say,"—

apparently his view changed. As editor of *The Crisis*, Dr. DuBois upon the occasion of the Chicago riots as above noted honored every man, black or white, who, in either Houston or Chicago, gave his life for civilization and order; later he expressed the following, which is nothing more nor less than a justification of the behavior of the Negro soldiery at Houston:

"Six years ago December 11, at 7:17 in the morning, thirteen American Negro soldiers were murdered on the scaffold by the American government to satisfy the blood-lust of Texas, on account of the Houston riot."³⁶⁶

Now, how does this exhibit this extremely gifted man, as a leader of his race? In the roar and blaze of the Chicago riot, in 1919 he was for "Honor,

³⁶⁶*The Crisis*, December 1923, p. 59.

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endless and undying Honor to every man black or white in Houston . . . who gave his life for civilization and order"; but by the end of 1920, the executed Negro soldiers had become martyrs, murdered by the government.

But in justice to this most excitable man, it must be admitted that there can be found whites of cultivation and intellect just as wild. Take the case of Dr. H. J. Seligman.

With all the insufferable conceit of a certain class of white, he appropriates the work of Negroes, (easily recognized by those who have heard their most intelligent speakers), denatures it of the humor which makes its appeal and presents it to the public, as his own indictment of the South. "The Southern dogma colors the rest of the country," he says. Yet he admits—"In so far as the South is concerned, conditions improve as the Negro moves out." Another writer, Stephen Graham, starts his book with crediting to the Negro slaves emancipated in 1863 the "twelve millions out of a total of a hundred millions of all races blending in America."³⁶⁷ As the census postdating his book gives only 10,389,328 Negroes for 1920, and as in all reason nearly two millions of these may be argued to be the progeny of the free persons of color of 1860, the contribution to the race from the class of colored person invariably ignored by English and Northern writers must approach almost a third. But that is not sensational. So journeying through Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana

³⁶⁷Graham, *Children of the Slaves*, Preface.

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and Mississippi, visiting Negroes, accepting their hospitality and practicing social equality, Graham most inconsiderately denounces their smell and, because he failed to reach and establish any spiritual touch, in his attempt to address them, stupidly decides there was none to be attained. Expressing the belief that the Negroes of New York and Chicago were firmer in flesh and will than those in the South and yield more hope for the race in the light of the extra prosperity and happiness of the Northern Negroes, he nevertheless crawls back to the feet of Northern prejudice with the declaration against the migration of the Negroes from the South to the North and the consequent even distribution over the whole of the country, because it would take "hundreds of years to even them out" and "they would probably crowd more and more into the large cities and be as much involved in evil conditions, as they were in the South." Can it be possible that there are nothing but evil conditions in the great cities of the North and West? Is it not the belief of the Northern authorities, that what the Negro needs is education? What education is equal to residence in these great pulses of our civilization? Has not Mr. Graham, himself attested "the extra prosperity and happiness of the Northern Negroes?" Why then attempt to throw doubts on the benefits to the Negro from diffusion? It might as well be faced without any more squirming. It is inevitable. By the law of compensation, that section of our great country, which for a hundred years or more has represented to the admiring

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world all the virtue, intelligence and civilization of the United States, especially in its treatment of the colored race will have to endeavor to live up to its reputation. The aspiring Negro is not going to be denied that contact with the most advanced civilization of this country, which those who freed him owe to him. If he crowds into the great cities, it is because there he finds its most advertised display, and so the most active and energetic push into it with some contempt for their feeble self elected leaders, who have preached against or kept quiet concerning it.

For three decades prior to the war between the States, the Southern States of the Union had made railroad development secondary to the Negro question. Constituting as they did in area at that time fully one-half of the States; peopled with 3,575,634 whites and 2,176,127 Negroes, they had been led to base their civilization on the substratum of an inferior race, putting that wild conception even above the Federal Union, that great experiment in government, which they had been most instrumental in framing. After their overthrow, Reconstruction raised the spectre of the Negro outstripping the whites in the South and almost assuredly in the lower South. And what establishes the wonderful clearness of the vision of the Negro, William Hannibal Thomas, was his ability, two years before the overthrow of Reconstruction, to see through the mists of 1874, which so completely shrouded the vision of Judge Albion Tourgee as late as 1888 in his "Appeal to Caesar."

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For Thomas realized, from the outset, that the Negro majority of South Carolina could not last.

In the hundred years which have elapsed since 1820, the proportion of the Negro population to the whites in the United States, as a whole, has dropped from 19 per cent to 9.9 per cent, the whites rising from 81 per cent to 90.1 per cent. With regard to the Negro population in the Southern States as compared with the rest of the United States, the proportion in the South has dropped from 92.5 per cent to 84.2 per cent, the percentage of the rest of the United States rising from 8 per cent to 15.98 per cent. But while it is treated as a movement of one hundred years, as far as the South is concerned, on account of the unknown accretions prior to 1860 through the illicit slave trade and the magnetic attraction of Reconstruction, it could be more accurately represented as a movement of forty years.

In the five great States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, embracing an area of about 224,960 square miles of contiguous territory, the white population had risen from 4,112,564 in 1880, to 7,444,218 in 1920; while in the same period the Negro population had increased from 2,408,654 only to 3,223,791. But what is even more striking is the fact that in the last decade there has been an actual decrease of 143,288 in the Negro population of this Southern area.

At the same time in the five great States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin the Negro population has risen to 514,589, and to the East of the great Northwest, in the Middle States and

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New England 709,453 were found to be; while West of the Mississippi river, outside of the old South, into a region, which before the war between the States was prairie and almost unexplored mountain and desert, 314,879 Negroes have moved. Yet in the South they still constitute 26 per cent of the population to only 3 per cent outside, in the rest of the Union.

Mr. Graham's impression, however, that it will "take hundreds of years to even them out" is a hasty and illconsidered judgment. Louisiana, which forty years ago had a colored majority of 28,707, had by the Census of 1920 a white majority of 396,360. Georgia had increased its white majority from 90,773 in 1880 to 482,749 in 1920; while the great cotton planting State of Alabama had raised its majority in the same period from 62,083 to 546,972. Considering what the Census figures show for Virginia, suffering as no State suffered from the war between the States, engaged in by her for no purpose of sustaining a black substratum for her civilization; but for a purpose identical with that which the civilized world acclaimed for Belgium and supporting the shock of war with a courage and devotion not surpassed by France in the Great War, she was shorn of about a third of her area and four-tenths of her white population, in utter defiance of the Constitution; but, now with a white majority which has risen from 57.5 per cent to 70.1 per cent, she is in a healthier condition than the portion which was carved out of her flank. The gain of North Carolina is even greater. Taking the whole South,

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we find, that from 1880 to 1920 the white population has increased from 12,309,087 to 25,016,579; while during the same period the colored has only risen from 6,013,215 to 8,801,753. It is true that by the Census of 1920 two Southern States, Mississippi and South Carolina still each had a colored majority; but one which had shrunk from 213,227 to only 46,181 in South Carolina and from 170,893 in Mississippi to 81,262; the percentage of whites in South Carolina being 48.6 per cent and in Mississippi 48.3 per cent.³⁶⁸

Until the Census of 1930 is published we shall not know positively; but in this, the fifth year since the last census, all available information seems to indicate that in both States the white minority has been converted into a white majority. By the census of the United States for 1920 in the 875,670 square miles which constitute the Southern States there were 25,016,579 whites and 8,801,753 colored inhabitants; while the remaining 2,150,600 square miles of the Union held 70,925,032 whites and 1,552,402 Negroes, with 109,966 under strictly Federal control at Washington. But again, North of the Northern line of the United States extends a region greater in area than the United States in which as indicated by the Canadian census of 1921 there are only 8,750,643 inhabitants. The door of opportunity therefore still remains open to the Negro in America and his inability to see this, throughout the fifty eight years of his freedom in which it has been accessible to him by foot, while handicapped

³⁶⁸U. S. Census Pop. by Color, 1920.

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by their ignorance of our wants, our customs and our language, the impoverished whites of Europe have crossed the three thousand miles of water which barred them, offers the most striking proof of the Negro's lack of capacity to help himself.

Perhaps, in justice to the Negroes as a whole, it should be noted that in no race that has ever existed has it been easier to use the supposed leaders against the true interests of the masses, than is apparent in the history of the Negroes. Yet even these, as they now clash with each other, emit some sparks of political intelligence. Meanwhile the mass are growing more accustomed to judge for themselves. Northern environment has not been without its effect upon them. They are taking something from it and they are going to give something to it.

In the Northwest, in all probability, they are in the next decade apt to gather in such numbers, as to affect both the South and Canada, although in exactly opposite ways. To a considerable extent what The New Republic foresaw in 1916 is coming to pass; but in somewhat quicker movement than that paper anticipated. The last great effort to induce them to remain in the South their "natural home" has been made. It has utterly failed. They are steadily moving out and diffusion is proceeding without any of the ills so continuously alleged as inseparable with such a movement.

And now to this last effort, the comments upon it and what may be called the first Negro Crusade,

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we should pay some attention, and then close with an allusion to the most helpful discussion ever instituted concerning the Negro.

CHAPTER XVI

At Birmingham, Alabama, President Harding spoke on the Negro question, October 25, 1921. Elected president by the greatest majority which had ever placed a president in power, his remarks, if not very profoundly wise, were unquestionably bravely frank. His position was that unless there should "be recognition of the absolute divergence in things social and racial," there might be "occasion for great and permanent differentiation." To quote him in such passages as most clearly and unequivocally expressed his views, he will be found to have said:

Men of different races may well stand uncompromisingly against any suggestion of social equality. Indeed it would be helpful to have the word equality eliminated from this consideration, to have it accepted on both sides that this is not a question of social equality but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference. We shall have made real progress when we develop an attitude in the public and community thought of both races which recognizes the difference.³⁶⁹

To this he added, as if replying to some unexpressed utterance, altho' he was the sole speaker:

I would accept that a black man cannot be a white man and that he does not need and should not aspire to be as much like a white man as possible in order to accomplish the best that is possible for him.³⁷⁰

In these two utterances President Harding put himself in accord with Abraham Lincoln and in opposition to Theodore Roosevelt's dinner to Booker

³⁶⁹Harding's Speech at Birmingham, *News and Courier*, Oct. 27, 1921.

³⁷⁰*Ibid.*

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Washington, and, from this, he drew near to what is supposed to be the teaching of Booker Washington:

I would say let the black man vote when he is fit to vote. . . . I have no sympathy with the half baked altruism that would overstock us with doctors and lawyers of whatever color and leave us in need of people fit and willing to do the manual work of a work-a-day world.³⁷¹

From these generalizations, after quoting from F. D. Lugard a paragraph which even a Philadelphia lawyer would be puzzled to unravel, in which it is declared that while there shall be equality in the paths of knowledge and culture and equal admiration and opportunity, yet each must pursue his own inherited traditions, and while agreeing to be spiritually equal diverge physically and materially, the President reached the piece-de-resistance of his discourse:

"It is probable that as a nation we have come to the end of the period of very rapid increase in our population. Restricted immigration will reduce the rate of increase and force us back upon our older population to find people to do the simpler physically harder manual tasks. This will require some difficult adjustments. In anticipation of such a condition the South may well recognize that the North and West are likely to continue their drains upon its colored population, and that if the South wishes to keep its fields producing and its industry still expanding it will have to compete for the services of the colored man."³⁷²

To this, the most important part of the President's remarks, while complimenting the tone and spirit of the whole, the same paper in which Carlyle Mc-

³⁷¹Ibid.

³⁷²Ibid.

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Kinley in 1889 sought to reveal to the South its true policy, thus replied:

"The South would be glad to see a considerable part of the negro population in this section find homes in other sections."³⁷³

The comment of that Northern publication which had, as has been shown, most intelligently discussed the migration of the Negroes from the South to the North and West in 1916, was to the effect that while the President's scheme had much to recommend it as far as the spirit was concerned, yet—

"The South knows as President Harding ought to know that you can't draw a sharp line between politics and social life. The offices of a State are in most parts of America positions of social leadership. With complete political equality the State of Mississippi might easily elect a Negro as governor. Would such a result be accepted by Mississippi as devoid of social significance? The race problem unfortunately is not one that admits of easy general solutions."³⁷⁴

The President's speech appeared about the time at which Dr. DuBois returned from the second of the Pan-African congresses in Europe, which he had been mainly instrumental in convening and at which there were Negroes and mulattoes from West and South Africa, British Guiana, Grenada, Jamaica, Nigeria and the Gold Coast; Indians from India and East Africa; colored men from London; and twenty-five American Negroes. There were meetings at London, Brussels and Paris.

The London congress over which presided a distinguished English administrator, later Secretary

³⁷³*News and Courier*, Editorial, October 27, 1921.

³⁷⁴The New Republic, November 9, 1921.

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of State for India, Sir Sidney Olivier, was mild, the chairman making no attempt to control the findings. But at Brussels, where—

“the black Senegalese, Blaise Diagne, French Deputy and High Commissioner of African troops—”³⁷⁵

presided—

DuBois says—

“We sensed the fear about us in a war land with nerves still taut.”³⁷⁶

It seems Oswald Garrison Villard, with that refreshing conceit which tempts him to discuss any subject whether he knows anything about it or not, had been ignorantly denouncing conscription, imposed on French Negroes.

With infinitely superior political acumen the London congress under the leadership of DuBois, or certainly with his approval, claimed the right to bear it equally with white Frenchmen, as long as France recognized racial equality; but when Du Bois at Brussels, after a few days of harmless palaver—

“rose the last afternoon and read in French and English the resolutions of London—”³⁷⁷

there was some stir. This is the scene, as depicted by DuBois:

“Diagne, the Senegales Frenchman who presided was beside himself with excitement after the resolutions were read; as under secretary of the French government; as ranking Negro of greater France, and perhaps as a successful in-

³⁷⁵DuBois, *The New Republic*, December 7, 1921.

³⁷⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷⁷*Ibid.*

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vestor in French Colonial enterprises he was undoubtedly in a difficult position. Possibly he was bound by actual promises to France and Belgium. His French was almost too swift for my ears, but his meaning was clear; he felt that the cause of the black man had been compromised by black American radicals; he especially denounced our demand for 'the restoration of the ancient common ownership of the land in Africa' as rank communism."³⁷⁸

Dr. DuBois does not explain wherein it was not; but contents himself with declaring that Diagne used his power as chairman and prevented a vote, the question being referred to the French congress. Later in conversation with DuBois, Diagne declared that he had "only sought to prevent the assassination of a race."

In his final analysis of the congress at Paris, DuBois says:

"France recognizes Negro equality, not only in theory but in practice, she has for the most part enfranchised her civilized Negro citizens. But what she recognizes is the equal right of her citizens black and white to exploit by modern industrial methods her laboring classes black and white; and the crying danger to black France is that its educated and voting leaders will join in the industrial robbery of Africa, rather than lead its masses to education and culture."³⁷⁹

DuBois thought Diagne and Candace, while unwavering defenders of racial opportunity, education for and the franchise for the civilized, "curiously timid" when the industrial problems of Africa "were" approached. Well so was the Negro, Martin R. Delany, candidate for lieutenant governor of

³⁷⁸Ibid.

³⁷⁹Ibid.

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South Carolina in 1874. He had had advantages for studying the African problems which Dr. DuBois had possibly not enjoyed to the same degree. Delany in his younger days had been an African explorer and, even if he had not penetrated very deeply into "The Dark Continent," had seen the African Negro in his lair. He and his younger co-laborer for reform in South Carolina, William Hannibal Thomas, ex-Union soldier from Ohio, as has been narrated, supported the candidacy of Judge Green for governor of South Carolina, in 1874, against the brilliant white Carpet-Bagger Daniel H. Chamberlain and his lieutenant, the even less reputable black Carpet-Bagger, R. B. Elliott. But while Thomas accepted Chamberlain, in 1876, as a changed man, with regard to Chamberlain's accompaniment, Delany, who had been in South Carolina since 1865, eleven years to Thomas's three, was still "curiously timid."

DuBois later enlarged his experience by a trip to Africa and, before that, possibly may have been moved by the work of a French Negro scholar who had made some mark in the literary world and occasioned some stir in French colonial politics, just after the Pan-African congress. But upon his return from these in 1921 DuBois at once addressed himself to the consideration of President Harding's Birmingham speech.

With a curious sympathy for the man, Harding, and a display of rank ingratitude to that white leader who had dared to do more for the Negro, than Harding thought became a white man, DuBois declared:

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"The President made a braver, clearer utterance than Theodore Roosevelt ever dared to make or than William H. Taft or William McKinley ever dreamed of. . . .

Mr. Harding meant that the American Negro must acknowledge that it was wrong and a disgrace for Booker T. Washington to dine with President Roosevelt."³⁸⁰

Although thus praising the President and with a wholly gratuitous sneer at the dead Roosevelt who had dared the "disgrace" and suffered for it, the Doctor asserted Harding's "braver clearer utterance" was "an inconceivably dangerous and undemocratic demand," which he disposes of with one sweep of his pen, which not only wiped out Harding's speech; but also brushed away the basis upon which John Stuart Mill erected his political economy, to wit—"the first impulse of mankind is to follow and obey, servitude rather than freedom is their natural state."

Not so in the view of Dr. DuBois:

"No system of social up-lift which begins by denying the manhood of a man can end by giving him a free ballot, a real education and a just wage."³⁸¹

In reply to this it may be said, that when the Negroes are thoroughly diffused throughout the United States, they are apt to get as free a ballot as the whites and proportionately the same education; but when all who labor, white or black, get a just wage, the millenium will have arrived and the capitalistic lion will be lying down with the horny headed laboring lamb.

³⁸⁰The Crisis, December, 1921, p. 53.

³⁸¹Ibid. p. 55.

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It cannot be denied, however, that Dr. DuBois stirred up some comment with his congresses and those who believe in the exhortation—"let there be light" will be interested in the French and German utterances thereon.

The Paris Temps, generally considered the organ of the French government, editorializes in these words:

"It is the claims of the wiser group which must be studied. . . . The road will be long for Negroes in the League of Nations toward the liberation modest though it is, whose program they have elaborated in their Congress. But there is nothing to keep us French from putting into immediate practice some articles at least of this program to start with."³⁸²

This is a world wide echo of Hayne's Speech on the floor of the United States Senate just about a century earlier. It is also to some extent an endorsement of Diagne, whom DuBois had criticised as "curiously timid." The portrait of the remarkable Senegalese who played such an Ajax to DuBois's ambitious Hector does not appear; but an entire front page of *The Crisis* is given to Maran, the Black Thersites of the race.

If DuBois would accept Diagne as the leader of the Negro people some results might come; but the Negro in DuBois will scarcely permit this. He might accept the far less able white, Oswald Garrison Villard. But no Negro.

The German comment on the congress is less cautious than the French but points in the same direction:

³⁸²Ibid. p. 64.

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"The Congress was called by Dr. Burghardt DuBois, an American mulatto who has been prominent in his native country for many years as a race agitator. Its purpose was to draw together all Negro organizations throughout the world. The agenda included: the segregation of the colored races; the race problem in England, America and South Africa; and a future programme. . . .

The attendance at London and Brussels was very small, but some four hundred delegates from every portion of the world participated in the proceedings at Paris. . . . At the London session the radical ideas of DuBois, which approached those of Garvey were in the ascendant and force was preached as a possible alternative to attain the ends which the Negroes have in view. . . . At Brussels, Deputy Diagne, a member of the French Parliament from Senegal, presided. When he saw that radical ideas were likely to prevail there also, he arbitrarily terminated the session. At Paris the programme was cut and dried. . . . The newspapers gave full and sympathetic reports of the sessions. France by this stroke of diplomacy attained her purpose. Under the skilful leadership of the French deputy Diagne, the Congress adopted a more moderate programme of evolution instead of revolution, culminating in a platform demanding equality of all civilized men without distinction of race; a systematic plan for educating the colored races; liberty for the natives to retain their own religion and manners; restoration of native titles to their former lands and to its produce; the establishment of an international institute to study and record the development of the black race; the protection of the black race by the League of Nations; and the creation of a separate section in the International Labor Bureau to deal with Negro labor."³⁸³

In this report it is claimed both the United States and England are handled harshly, while France is praised. It seems Sir Harry Johnston is, to some

³⁸³ Asmis, *The Living Age*, February 4, 1922, p. 261.

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degree, in accord with this praise of France, at the expense of his own country, his opinion being:

"All in all, I am of the opinion that the French nation since 1871 has dealt with the Negro problem in Africa and in tropical America more wisely, prudently and successfully than we English have done."³⁸⁴

It is this very fluent gifted linguist, in all probability, who is responsible for the picturesque conclusion:

"Finally it is perfectly certain that the race question is the rock upon which the British Empire will be wrecked or the corner stone upon which the greatest political structure in the history of the world will be erected."³⁸⁵

But if from a representative of Imperial Germany, the only country which ever enacted as a part of its organic law the principle of Nullification, it surpasses in grandiosity and positiveness of statement the dictum of Calhoun in 1837:

"We have for the last 12 years been going through a great and dangerous juncture. The passage is almost made and, if no new cause of difficulty should intervene, it will be successfully made. I, at present, see none but the abolition question, which however, I fear is destined to shake the country to its centre. . . . For the first time the bold ground has been taken that slaves have a right to petition Congress . . . itself emancipation. . . . Our fate as a people is bound up in the question. If we yield, we will be extirpated; but if we successfully resist, we will be the greatest and most flourishing people of modern time. It is the best substratum of population in the world and one on which great and flourishing Commonwealths may be most easily and safely reared."³⁸⁶

³⁸⁴Ibid. p. 262.

³⁸⁵Ibid.

³⁸⁶Jameson, Calhoun's Correspondence, p. 368.

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We of the South know, we did not successfully resist emancipation; were not extirpated; but do form part of "the greatest and most flourishing people of modern time." We must realize that, no matter what was the price paid for it, emancipation was salvation for the South. It was a deliverance from the "body of death." Reviewing our history, we find that in the same year that Calhoun, the greatest disruptive force in our politics, pronounced the dictum last quoted, a comparatively young and unknown politician, destined to be the greatest cementing force of the Union, declared—

"That the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy; but that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to promote than to abate its evils."³⁸⁷

In discussing this utterance of Lincoln, his latest biographer, Mr. Stephenson, who declares it reveals the dawn of his intellect, beautifully pictures how—

"arise the two ideas, the faith in a mighty governing power; the equal faith that it should use its might with infinite tenderness; that it should be slow to compel results."³⁸⁸

Going back ten years before the dawn of Lincoln's intellect, and four prior to the declaration that the Negro question was, as he, Calhoun, saw it an African slave substratum on which great and flourishing commonwealths could be most easily and safely reared, Hayne, on the floor of the United States Senate, voiced in his own words, Lincoln's subsequently sponsored thought.

³⁸⁷Stephenson, Lincoln, p. 32.

³⁸⁸Ibid. p. 35.

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Harken to Hayne:

"Thus, Sir, it appears that the Almighty in the wise order of his providence has marked out the course of events, which will not only remove all danger, but gradually and effectually and in his own good time accomplish our deliverance from what gentlemen are pleased to consider as the curse of the land."³⁸⁹

In 1827, it is apparent that the Negro question was a different question than it later became to the South; and that the strengthening and possible spread of slavery was in some measure due to Calhoun's devotion to it, over and above all other questions, even before Nullification, is evidenced by his letter to Maxcy in 1830:

"I consider the Tariff, but as the occasion rather than the real cause of the present unhappy state of things."³⁹⁰

Strange to state, even at that early date, he writes of the South possibly being compelled to "rebel," to preserve her "peculiar institution."

Fortunately for the Lower South, Lincoln and not Seward was elected president in 1860; for had Seward been raised to that position of preeminence, in all human probability the seven States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas would have been allowed to secede and attempt the experiment of government involved therein, with a population of 2,619,116 whites, 36,861 free persons of color, many of whom were slave owners, and 2,312,372 Negro slaves.

That the colored population would have increased rapidly is a reasonable conclusion. Virginia, North

³⁸⁹Jervey, Robert Y. Hayne and His Times, p. 207.

³⁹⁰Bassett, Andrew Jackson, Vol. II p. 547.

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Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee, in all probability, would have speedily divested themselves of a great proportion of the 1,324,166 slaves they held and, even if such Southern statesmen as Leonidas Washington Spratt had not been able to reopen the African slave trade, the smuggling in of slaves on a greater and greater increasing scale would have been a consequence. Slavery being the corner stone of the new political structure, it would have been natural that the view of Governor Seabrook, that slave holding Negroes should be admitted to the ballot, would have eventually prevailed. War might have come between the large and small sections of North America from some frontier incident concerning Arkansas, the Indian Territory or Mexico; but it could scarcely have been the pulverizing conflict which the Lower South sustained by the two and a half million additional whites of Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee, maintained for four years of desperate struggle.

Each year that the conflict was delayed would have found the States which remained in the old Union stronger and whiter, sickling the seceded States with railroads and quite possibly drawing Canada into their orbit; for as Sir Charles Dilke has pointed out in his *Problems of Greater Britain*, published when the annexation of Canada was still a debatable question—

“a fact often overlooked in England is that hitherto the western centres of population of British North America have been more intimately connected with districts lying

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South of them across the American frontier than with places East and West of them, within the Canadian border."³⁹¹

The days of the "Little Englanders" were only then passing, when the colonies had almost been considered a nuisance.

But whether the region mapped out now as Winnipeg, Alberta and the other wheat areas of the Canadian West might have been attached to the great white Union in the sixties, if undisturbed by war and moving with continually accelerated industrial development or not, the Union would have become whiter, as the Lower South darkened; and Calhoun's "substratum" theory would have there been tested to the fullest extent and risk.

From this Lincoln's adroit political play induced the Lower South, by firing on the flag, to save itself, unknowingly. By the invasion of Virginia he forced that State, as well as North Carolina and Tennessee, into the Confederacy, against which, in 1862, he drew the weapon of emancipation without the least idea as to how deep it must cut. For it has proven to be a two edged sword.

Nothing more clearly reveals Lincoln's ignorance of the inevitable consequences of emancipation, than his message to Congress in December, 1862:

"But it is dreaded that the freed people will swarm forth and cover the whole land. Are they not already in the land? Will liberation make them more numerous? Equally distributed among the whites of the whole country and there would be but one colored to seven whites. Could the one

³⁹¹Dilke, *Problems of Greater Britain*, p. 20.

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in any way disturb the seven? . . . But why should emancipation South send the free people North? People of any color seldom run unless there be something to run from. Heretofore to some extent they have fled North from bondage and destitution. But if gradual emancipation and deportation be adopted they will have neither to flee from. . . . And in any event cannot the North decide for itself whether to receive them?"³⁹²

If this was the Great Emancipator's view of emancipation, what wonder that the "Southern color psychosis" should spread like measles, from contact alone.

The Congressional Reconstructionists thought that they had won in the war between the States what has since been styled euphoniously, "a sphere of influence," a subject people to sell goods to. But the mass of Northern and Western whites, true Americans, sickened of the excesses of Congressional Reconstruction. The Federal troops were withdrawn on the order of a true patriot, Rutherford B. Hayes, President of the United States, and not of a section.

Chastened and disciplined by their fall from power, the most energetic and industrious, the boldest and most assertive Negroes have, since 1876, been steadily moving into the mammoth cities of the North and West, to there build up in the segregated districts, groups of New Negroes, as the Report of the Chicago riot shows "more perfect thro suffering."

³⁹²Munford, *Virginia's Attitude, Slavery and Secession*, p. 173.

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By a joint committee of blacks and whites that riot has been discussed and that makes the discussion the more valuable.

In that great city of two and a half million of inhabitants, after ten days of riot, bloodshed, arson and murder, in response to the appeal of representative citizens, Governor Lowden appointed an emergency committee to study the underlying causes of the riot of 1919 and to make recommendations. According to the Census of 1920 there were then in Chicago 109,458 Negroes. The chairman of the committee was Edgar A. Bancroft, a leading lawyer, subsequently appointed by President Coolidge Ambassador to Japan. The vice chairman was Dr. Francis W. Sheppardson, at one time of the University of Chicago. The most prominent Negro on the Committee was Robert S. Abbott, proprietor of the greatest and most influential Negro paper in the United States, *The Chicago Defender*. The report was published in 1922. It indicates 38 persons killed in the riot, 15 whites and 23 Negroes. Of the 527 injured, 178 were white, 342 Negroes, the race denomination of 17 not being established.

For the 38 deaths, there were nine presentments for murder returned, four persons being convicted.

While it is stated that the merciless bombing of Negro households was due to a systematic campaign conducted by the press against Negroes buying properties to one side of the district in which 90 per cent of the Negro population reside, that they moved, (on account of their increase), towards the side to

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which they did go, rather than in the opposite direction, the report says—

“may be explained partly by the hostility which the Irish and Polish groups had often shown to Negroes.”³⁹³

That Negroes were killed deliberately, as a business measure, in response to propaganda against them simply as Negroes, is an unavoidable conclusion. Extracts from “The Property Owners Journal” show that again and again there was an attempt to appeal to a “Higher Law” than the law of the land. It seems to have been the law of greed. Here is an extract:

“Any property owner who sells property anywhere in our district to undesirables is an enemy to the white owner and should be discovered and punished. . . . The Negro is using the Constitution and its legal rights to abuse the moral rights of the white.”³⁹⁴

Following this hypocritical appeal, 58 houses, bought by Negroes, were bombed, the residence of Jesse Binga, a Negro banker having been bombed six times without breaking down his firm determination to stand the storm. The house of a Negro woman was bombed three times. Her home had been attacked in the riots and the front door battered down; but, upon calling on the police, she and her husband were by them arrested, altho’ later acquitted. The report charges gross and continuous exaggeration during the riot, in which it is distinctly stated that the Chicago Tribune led, although it is also stated, that the paper owned by one of the

³⁹³Negro in Chicago, p. 8.

³⁹⁴Ibid. p. 121.

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committee, in one instance, could hardly have been surpassed. That this last statement should have been made, speaks volumes for the fairness of the committee and the member of the committee thus concurring with the stricture on himself. It also states, of the paper published by Robert S. Abbott, "The Defender":

"It is probably no exaggeration to say that the Defender's policy prompted thousands of restless Negroes to venture North, where there were assured of its protection and championship of their cause."³⁹⁵

The Governor in his FOREWORD states that the report shows "that the presence of Negroes in large numbers in our great cities is not a menace in itself." Incidents cited showed high courage and efficiency on the part of Negro policeman and the exhibition of a stern sense of duty controlling race prejudice.

The report says:

"It is clear that migrant Negroes are not returning South. On the contrary there is a small but continuous stream of migration to the industrial centres of the North. No great numbers of Negroes returned to the South even during the trying unemployment period in the early part of 1921."³⁹⁶

Sustaining the country's stand against the unrestricted immigration of the ante bellum period, just about this time, the New Republic asserted:

"If we can hold the gates closed for another decade, these abuses are bound to go. Not everybody in America would like this. Nor would everybody in America be pleased with

³⁹⁵Ibid. p. 92.

³⁹⁶Ibid. p. 105.

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another natural consequence of restriction, that it will draw more and more Negroes out of the rural South, especially the lynching belt for common labor in the industries.”³⁹⁷

In his FOREWORD to the Chicago report, Governor Lowden places himself in absolute opposition to Lincoln. He says:

“Our race problem must be solved in harmony with the fundamental law of the nation and with its free institutions. These prevent any deportation of the Negro as well as any restriction of his freedom of movement within the United States.”³⁹⁸

But the report of the Chicago riot contains much more than an expression of the views of the committee as to the cause of that outburst of savagery. In its 667 pages are the views of many Negroes on the greatest variety of subjects. The first article of the belief of the members of the Negro Urban League of Chicago is—

“I realize that our soldiers have learned new habits of self-respect and cleanliness.”³⁹⁹

That is a short sentence, but it contains much.

Here is another which indicates that the Negro will not only learn much from the Northern and Western white man; but also teach him a bit. It is not very sweetly expressed, but it is well worth pondering for all that:

“There is one trait, and I might say only one, that I take off my hat to the southern ‘Cracker’ for, and that is his respect and high regard for women. While he hasn’t much for the other fellow’s (the Negro’s) wives and daugh-

³⁹⁷The New Republic, February 14, 1923.

³⁹⁸Negro in Chicago, p. XXIII.

³⁹⁹Ibid. p. 193.

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ters, yet he respects his own. We must set a good example for him and respect all women, regardless of race, color or creed. Then you will win the admiration of all civilized people. Men who do not respect and honor their women are not worthy of citizenship."⁴⁰⁰

Only one trait, but what an important one!

⁴⁰⁰Ibid. p. 306.

CHAPTER XVII

Passing from the report of the Negro riot in Chicago, of 1919 to the Negro Year Book for the same date, we find therein the assertion, that the aggregate wealth of the 10,300,000 Negroes in the United States, at that date, was estimated at \$1,100,000,000.

Whatever the wealth or progress of the Negroes in the United States is asserted to be, at any time, it is customary to allude to it, as that much in excess of nothing at the time of Emancipation. The Negro writers in particular are prone to claim this. This has been, in some degree, shown in this study to be incorrect; but it may be well to go a little further into the matter.

In the year 1860 the 4,441,800 colored persons in the United States consisted of 488,070 free persons of color and 3,953,730 Negro and mulatto slaves. The 488,070 free persons of color were about evenly divided between the Northern and the Southern States. They possessed property. What was the probable value of their holdings?

The Census of 1860 shows, that in the city of Charleston, South Carolina, there were 3,237 free persons of color and that 357 of them returned property for taxation, on which they paid \$12,015.60 in taxes, mainly upon real estate, probably about seven-eighths of the whole. But they also paid taxes on income and business, as well as head taxes on the slaves they owned and upon their horses, carriages and dogs. With the generally accepted average value for slaves and a safe valuation for horse-flesh,

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as the value of the real estate is disclosed, we can calculate that the aggregate wealth of the free persons of color in Charleston, S. C., in 1860 must have been about \$888,650. Unless there was some particular advantage, materially, in a residence, by free persons of color, in that State and city most identified with "the peculiar institution," the per capita established can be extended to the whole population of this class in the United States, at that date; which would have accordingly amounted to about \$133,989,231.

Of course there may have been greater wealth among the free persons of color in Charleston than in the rest of the State of South Carolina; but for the same reason there would have been still greater wealth in New Orleans and the greater cities of the North, where real estate was necessarily of greater value with a greater growth.

As the free persons of color had more than quadrupled in the six decades ending in 1860, what reason is there to think that, inured to the responsibilities of freedom, their rate of increase, after the emancipation of the mass of slaves, should have materially lessened?

With the Negro slaves emancipated in mass it would be different; and therefore it is not at all unlikely, that of the \$1,100,000,000 owned in 1919 by the entire Negro population of the United States, something like \$535,957,124 should be credited to the descendants of the free persons of color, best equipped at the outset to reap their share of the wealth the War between the States brought to the

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North and West, rather than to the greater number of the emancipated remaining in the impoverished South and suffering with the whites the evils of Congressional Reconstruction. That it took the South until 1890 to regain in material wealth what they had lost between 1861 and 1876, while in the same period the advance in material gain in the North and West was the envy of the world, but clinches the argument.

Selfishness is, however, not infrequently the accompaniment of increasing prosperity and, therefore, it should not surprise any thoughtful individual to note, that the cultured DuBois and not a few of his white acclaimers look somewhat askance at the steady movement of the Southern Negroes out of the South and into the North and West.

This is not the attitude, however, of that Negro whose name heads the report of the committee on the Chicago riot.

Robert S. Abbott comes nearer the Biblical description of the owner of the vineyard. He wishes to share with the laborers of his race the fields he has garnered so successfully with his weekly paper, the "Chicago Defender" and therefore whatever may be his extravagances of expression, he seems to be the most unselfish leader the Negroes have.

In thus turning to the weekly rather than attempting the more ambitious daily, the Negroes show a clear-sightedness to their credit.

"Negro papers are published weekly because they cannot compete with the daily papers in providing any part of the public with news from day to day."⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰¹Negro in Chicago, p. 567.

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This is a very simple statement, but it contains a great amount of wisdom.

For that part of humanity which lacks wealth the weekly paper is a great protector. The news passes thro' a filterer. It gives the honest editor and publisher an opportunity to scrutinize that which the fierce competition for the daily item of news may hardly permit.

The call for copy is not infrequently a call of distress. To fill a void may bring about a hasty selection of cartoon plate, by no means hastily prepared; but possibly for just such a contingency. These so selected, not seldom undo the effect of an editorial, while much masquerading as news, but in reality propaganda, may be hastily slapped into the forms around two o'clock in the morning. The Negroes, therefore, in clinging to weeklies "are wiser in their generation than the children of light."

Happily for humanity, sentimentality destroyed slavery of the Negroes in the United States; but the result was an intense stimulation of economic slavery of whites and blacks, by the simple process of letting in from Europe masses of whites, many of whom were below the standards of numbers of American Negroes. That having been checked, the Negro laborer in every line must now measure himself against the Slav and the Latin. In physical power he is superior to the Latin; but the Latin makes up for it in greater pertinacity and orderliness of method. While the statement will probably be received with derision, the training of the slave by the Southern slave-holder and the working of the

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Negro by the Southerner is not at the driving pace at which the North and West move, and under that spur the Northern Negro becomes a more efficient tool. But North or South the mass has been helped more than hindered by that which a cultivated young Negro addressing one of the leading educational institutions of the United States thus described:

"The savage and the child, to rise to higher things must feel the power of a stronger hand. This is the special blessing of the American Negro and has in forty years set him centuries ahead of his Haytien brother, who has been self governing for one hundred years."⁴⁰²

Even if he has since recanted, this was the view of William Pickens in 1903, when awarded the Ten Eyck Prize at Yale University. But if the Negro is affected by the presence of the white to the Negro's betterment, it is only fair and just to quote a Southern opinion with regard to the reverse.

Only two years later than the award to Pickens at Yale University, a Southern scholar published "The Coming Crisis"; which despite the fact that it is written in flawless English, exhibits a symmetry of composition which is altogether admirable, and advances views held to-day by a vast number, not a few of whom have achieved some reputation in the discussion of them less intelligently than Mr. Pinckney in 1905, his book, nevertheless, at that date, fell absolutely flat. What Mr. Pinckney discerned before the World War others can now also see. His view of the Negro problem was not in accord with the view of the author of this study. He would have

⁴⁰²Yale Lit. Magazine, p. 237.

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been surprised to hear that it could have been thought to be in accord with that of Abraham Lincoln, to a great degree, altho' with some differences. But in Pinckney's discussion the Negro is merely incidental to the subject which is to him so inspiring as to be visualized in a passage worth pondering:

"It seems probable that the history of the United States is calculated to furnish more complete and more striking illustration of the working of political principles than was ever furnished to the world before. It is an experiment on so grand a scale and interests so gigantic are at stake that enthusiasm itself is overwhelmed in the contemplation. It was too much to hope for, that such an experiment should be successful from the start. Not so lightly might the latest and greatest blessing to mankind, the gift of rational liberty, be wrested from reluctant nature. Not without thorns and blood and agony might such a crown be won. Were the reward to be more easily obtained, possibly those who won it would have proved unworthy to enjoy it. Let those remember this that fear for the fate of the Republic. So will their hearts be filled afresh with courage. So from within will well up new healing streams of hope, balm of hurt minds, refreshing, comfortable. To fall from grace is to learn the pathway of salvation and, like the prodigal son, to become a partaker of joys before unknown."⁴⁰³

Nowhere can be found a more delicate satire, than the chapter in his book which is entitled "Salary and Sentiment—Reason and Revenue." There is also very clear and convincing reasoning. But it is in regard to what Mr. Pinckney has to say of the presence of the Negroes in the South that reference now is had.

⁴⁰³Pinckney, *The Coming Crisis*, p. 61.

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In opposition to the view of Wade Hampton, M. C. Butler and Carlyle McKinley, according to Mr. Pinckney:

"The States themselves must control the Negro question, or the American system is at an end. Effort on the part of the Federal Government to control or even to tamper with this matter must at all times result, as it has hitherto invariably resulted, in riot and anarchy. Thus, as far as the South is concerned, the very highest sanctions possible are by natural law attached to strict observance of the true constitutional construction. To travel the constitutional path is safety and happiness; to wander from it is instant anarchy. . . . The purpose is to protect all local affairs against intrusion from without, but among those affairs first and foremost has always stood the Negro Question, in which there can be no hesitation, choice or possibility of alternative. Thus the smaller matter of the presence of the Negro is included in the larger class of matters which comprise the whole range of local interests. . . . The Negro is thus the (wholly unconscious) means of illustrating the necessity for constitutional self government. His presence effectually prevents the South from departing for an instant from the Constitutional pathway. Cuffy must be remembered if the Republic is to be saved."⁴⁰⁴

This is in agreement with the view, that the Southern States are Democratic, because the presence of the Negro, now freed, forces them to be so.

There may be truth in that; but it may be, that they are and have been Democratic in spite of the Negro.

The publication of the List of Tax-Payers in Charleston, "The Hot-Bed of Secession", in 1860 was an illustration of the thorough-going democracy of the place and the people, at that time. It was an

⁴⁰⁴Ibid. p. 58.

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open display of the strength and weakness of each and every governmental burden bearer, and of the burdens imposed. What could be more democratic than that? There was a tax of 1.4 per cent on real estate; a tax of 1.4 per cent on stocks of goods. There was no tax on bonds and no tax on stock, because, without interest or dividends, the scrip is mere paper. But there was a tax on interest and dividends of 2.5 per cent; the same on gross income; commissions; annuities and gross receipts of all commerical agencies. On premiums of insurance there was a tax of 1.25 per cent. On capital in shipping, as it should have been, the tax was light, only .75 per cent; for shipping is the very life of a seaport. But it was also gainful, so it was taxed for some of its gain. The foolish idea of absolute exemption was avoided. Luxuries were taxed fairly, in the additional head taxes. The carriage drawn by two horses was taxed a third more than the carriage drawn by one. Sulkeys were taxed lower than one horse carriages and horses and mules lower still. Slaves were taxed, but the head tax of \$3 per slave, when it is realized that some sold for \$1200 apiece was indefensibly light compared to the tax on horse-flesh and property of that kind. One per cent on a Negro to ten per cent on a mule by the average value and lessening with the increase of value of either was an immense incentive to slaveholding. With apparently this one exception, in the absence of that procrustean bed, the uniform rate, upon which all property which cannot be concealed is now stretched, the wealthy paid according to their

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wealth, the poor according to their poverty; but all, who had anything, contributed to the general welfare, and bore a fair share of the general burden.

That is the real reason why they fought so long and well. For instance on \$385,000 of real estate, 28 slaves, 1 carriage and 2 horses, Otis Mills and Otis Mills & Co. paid a tax of \$5,524. On \$281,000 of real estate, 14 slaves, a carriage and 2 horses, William Aiken paid a tax of \$4,027.40. On \$101,500 of real estate, \$2,724.16, interest on bonds, 3 slaves and \$45,000 of shipping, the estate of James Adger paid a tax of \$1,835.60. On \$15,000 of real estate, \$1,982 interest on bonds, \$14,642 commissions, 14 slaves, 1 carriage, 3 horses and 2 dogs, Wm. C. Bee and Wm. C. Bee & Co. paid a tax of \$732.60. On a stock of goods \$16,000, commissions \$9,000, Jeffords & Co. paid a tax of \$449. On \$8,000 shipping, \$4,600 income and 3 slaves E. Lafitte & Co. paid a tax of \$184. On a stock of goods of \$1,000, Samuel P. Lawrence paid a tax of \$14. On 1 slave Mrs. M. S. H. Godber paid a tax of \$3. On \$200 of real estate Dr. Charles M. Hitchcock paid a tax of \$1.80. On a stock of goods valued at \$100, C. H. Brunson paid a tax of \$1.40. The tax imposed on the manufacture of gas light was lighter than that imposed on shipping; but it was gainful and on a capital of \$755,700 the Company paid a tax \$3,-778.50.⁴⁰⁵

That the condition of the Southern States was incalculably improved by the abolition of slavery is the firm belief of the author of this study. But

⁴⁰⁵Evans & Cogswell; List of Taxpayers Charleston, S. C. 1860.

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that from the tax legislation that followed, the morals of all have suffered tremendously, is the belief of many, with which he agrees.

The presence of the Negroes in the masses in which they still remained in the South after emancipation retarded even the remarkable recovery that the South has made. In this year of 1925, the first in a century in which the white population of South Carolina has exceeded in numbers the colored, it is apparent that the small industries of country life are becoming distinctly more gainful. Why? With lessening mass the Negro is feeling the effect of environment. He is less of a pilferer. And with less friction and consequent material gain, wider opens the door to literature and art.

That there is an immense educational power in art has again and again been demonstrated by artists who have had a purpose deeper than—"Art for art's sake."

As an illustration, one cannot fail to note that while the educated Negroes of the North could not possibly take at the hands of a Negro Union soldier, who had fought for the freedom of the race and gone thro' the days of Congressional Reconstruction without a stain, as a distinct Legislative leader, a faithful description of the great mass of Negroes in the South, they acclaimed the French Negro author of "*Batouala*," whose realistic novel of the Negro in Africa while criticising severely their white French rulers, damns the Negroes, even more so. The book is not only interesting, it is instructive to those who need the instruction; and the increasing numbers of

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educated Negroes at the North needed just such a book, in order to show them what they were rescued from in Africa.

Rene Maran says:

"My book is not a polemic. It comes by chance when its hour strikes. The Negro Question is of the present. Who made it that? Why the Americans."

Describing French Colonial Africa, he quotes, the Senegalese, Diagne:

"—the best settlers have been not the professional colonials, but the European troops from the trenches."⁴⁰⁶

This is in the preface.

The book opens with the awakening of the hero "Batouala" in the hut in which he sleeps with his eighth and favorite wife, Yassiguindjia. It recalls another awakening in another realistic piece of literature, "Old Bram" in "The Black Border." The only difference is between the awakening of a wolf and the awakening of an old watch dog, "the friend of man," a tamed wolf. The story revolves around the politics and desires of Batouala, Bissibingui and Yassiguindjia. Batouala is a wolf who cares for the pack; Bissibingui, a young wolf, as fierce, who cares but for himself and his desires. Yassiguindjia can only be described by one of the items with which she was purchased.

In "The Black Border" it is true we are in South Carolina, along the coast; but, as has been eloquently stated by a Scotch South Carolinian, in that region "there is Africa in every breath we draw." With

⁴⁰⁶Rene Maran, *Batouala*, pp. 10, 12.

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artistic power Maran pictures the sounds of the African dawn.

"Daylight broke. Although heavy with sleep still, Batouala—Batouala, the Mokoundji, chief of so many villages—was quite conscious of these sounds. He yawned, shivered and stretched himself. Should he go to sleep again? Should he get up? God! Why get up? He did not even wish to know why. . . .

"Now merely to get up—didn't that require an enormous effort? In itself a perfectly simple decision, so it seemed. As a matter of fact it was hard; for getting up and working were one and the same thing, at least to the whites. . . . Life is short. Work is for those who will never understand life. Doing nothing does not degrade a man. In the eyes of one who sees things truly, it differs from laziness. As for him, Batouala, until it was proved to the contrary, he would believe that to do nothing was simply to profit by everything that surrounds us. To live from day to day without thought of yesterday or care for the morrow, without looking ahead—that was perfect."⁴⁰⁷

What a perfect picture of the Negro without "the power of a stronger hand," which William Pickens saw so clearly the need of in 1903. And the philosophy of it! Moved to visit Africa in 1924, Dr. DuBois makes a discovery:

"I began to notice it as I entered Southern France. I formulated it in Portugal. I knew it as a great truth one Sunday in Liberia. And the great truth was this: Efficiency and happiness do not go together in modern culture. . . . And laziness; divine, eternal langour is right and good and true."⁴⁰⁸

The Doctor praises the "manners" of the Africans.

"Their manners were better than those of Park Lane or Park Avenue, Rittenhouse Square or the North Shore. . . .

⁴⁰⁷Ibid. pp. 22, 24.

⁴⁰⁸The Nation, December 17, 1924, p. 675.

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The primitive black man is courteous and dignified. . . . Wherefore shall we all take to the Big Bush? No I prefer New York."⁴⁰⁹

As to the great truth, happiness depends upon what is in the soul of the man, not upon his surroundings.

But Batouala while he disliked work could exert himself to hunt or fight. His grievance was that which has moved men more than any other thro' all the ages. He and his people were too heavily taxed. He gathered the people together and harangued them.

"A drunken crowd pressed up behind the group of which Batouala was the centre. They reviled the whites. Batouala was right, a thousand times right. Of old before the coming of the whites, they had lived happily. They had worked a little for themselves, they had eaten and drunk and slept. From time to time they had had bloody palavers and had plucked the livers from the dead to eat their courage and incorporate it in themselves. Such had been the happy days of old, before the coming of the whites."⁴¹⁰

Then follows a description of the great dance.

"Bissibingui was the handsomest of all. The strongest too. His muscles stood out. His eyes glowed like the brush on fire. . . . What had gone before was nothing. All the preceding noises and outcries, the confused dancing had only been a preparation for what was to come—the dance of love, scarcely ever danced but on this evening, when they were permitted to indulge in debauchery and crime. . . . Couples formed. . . It was the immense joy of brutes loosed from all control. . . A couple dancing fell to the ground.

Suddenly his fingers twitching about a knife in his hand, Batouala, the mokoundji rushed upon this couple. He was foaming. His fist was raised for the blow. More nimble

⁴⁰⁹Ibid.

⁴¹⁰Rene Maran, *Batouala*, p. 90.

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than monkeys, Bissibingui and Yassiguindjia leapt out of his reach. He pursued them. Ah, these children of a dog had the impudence to desire each other before his very eyes. He'd have the skin of that strumpet. As for Bissibingui . . . Ah wouldn't the women make fun of him then. Yassiguindjia! The idea! Hadn't he bought her with seven waist cloths, a box of salt, three copper collars, a bitch, four pots, six hens, twenty she goats, forty big baskets of millet, and a girl slave! Ah, he'd make Yassiguindjia take the test poison."⁴¹¹

But the arrival of the commandant saves the guilty couple. Batouala, however, still plots the life of Bissibingui, who is plotting the robbery of his own people, as one of the commandant's soldiery. In the great hunt Batouala hurls a javelin at his rival, misses him and is himself struck down by an infuriated passing panther. So the dark patriot falls and the black scalawag wins. It is an impressive picture of African life, the men, the women and the conjugality.

Turn we now to the coast of South Carolina, where in "The Black Border," the scene is laid, for "Jim Moultrie's Divorce," the deepest in discernment of all the life like sketches of that moving book.

Jim, too, was a great hunter, an unwearied pursuer. No animal. But a black man. A believer in divorce, as almost all Negroes in America are, even in South Carolina, where the law refuses it.

At the end of a cold blustering day in February, after pushing his clumsy dug-out canoe into every creek and lead of the Jehossee marshes, to flush ducks for the white sportsman who had hired him,

⁴¹¹Ibid. pp. 98, 103, 105, 106, 107.

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at sun set he is turning home. How the picture appeals to us of the coast.

"Far up the river, like low hung stars, twinkled the watch fires of a great timber raft outward bound for the estuary of the North Edisto. From a distant plantation came the sweet lu-la-lu of a happy Negro freed from work. The raft borne upon the bosom of the strong ebb tide, neared rapidly, and around its fires, built on earth covered platforms, the negro raftsmen talked and laughed as they cooked their supper and the flames lighted the face and magnified the figure of the black steersman who stood by the great sweep oar, with which at the stern of the raft, he guided its course down stream.

For an hour Jim had silently bucked the tide, impelling the boat under the powerful strokes of his paddle, alternately left and right.

'What are you thinking of Jim?'

'Study 'bout 'ooman, suh.' (A short silence).

'Ooman shishuh cuntrady t'ing, dem nebbuh know w'en dem well off. You kin feed dem, you kin pit clo'es puntop dem back, you kin pit shoo 'puntop dem feet, you kin pit hat 'puntop dem head, you kin pit money een dem han', en' still yet oonah nebbuh know de 'ooman, nebbuh know w'en dem min' gwine sattify. Dem fuhrebbuh duh lookout fuh trouble. Ef dem ent meet trouble duh paat', dem gwine hunt fuhr'um duh 'ood. I dunkyuh how soeb'uh fudduh de trouble dey, dem gwine fin 'um. Ef dem cyan' see 'e track fuh trail 'um, dem gwine pit dem nose een de du't en' try fuh smell 'um, but dem gwine fin'um. I duh study 'pun dat wife I nyuse fuh hab, name Mary. Look how him done, w'en him hab no cajun! You yeddy 'bout me trouble, enty suh? Lemme tell you. One Sat'd'y night I gone home frum de ribbuh. I tek two duck', bakin, flour en' sugar en' tea, den I pit fibe dolluh' een Mary' lap. Enty you know, suh, dat is big money fuh t'row een niggah' lap? W'en I bin-nuh boy en' you t'row uh 'ooman fifty cent, 'e t'ink 'e rich, but I bin all dat week wid one cump'ny uh dese yuh rich Nyankee buckruh' dat Mr. FitzSimmon hab yuh fuh shoot,

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en' dem buckruh' t'row me fibe dolluh bill same lukkuh dem bin dime'! W'en I t'row de money in de 'ooman' lap, en pit de todduh t'ing wuh I fetch 'pun de flo', Mary nebbuh crack 'e teet'. I ax 'um 'smattuh mek 'um stan 'so? 'E mek ansuh, 'nutt'n'. Nex' day de 'ooman keep on same fashi'n. 'E nebbuh crack 'e bre't. I quizzit 'um 'gen. I ax 'um 'smattuh 'long 'um. Him say, 'nutt'n'. Den I say 'berry well den.' Monday mawnin' I tek me gun, I call me dog en' den I talk to de 'ooman. I say, 'Mary, I gwine duh ribbuh, en' I gwine come back Sat'd'y two week'. I dunnoh 'smattuh mek you stan'so, but I know suh de debble dey een you. No 'ooman 'punto dis ribbuh hab mo' den you, no 'ooman get so much, but I yent able fuh lib dis way 'long no 'ooman wuh ti 'up 'e mout', en w'en I cum back las' Sat'd'y two week' I gwine tarry gate you one mo' time, en' I gwine ax you 'smattuh mek you stan' so, en if oonah still een de same min 'ez now, den me nuh you paa't."⁴¹²

The obstinate silence of the woman is related and the parting in silence. Then follows the attempt of the woman to appease him, her jealousy gone. His refusal. His resentment that she should have believed an idle lie. His determination that it was too late. And then the last two lines, which hold so much.

"Have you another wife Jim?"

"I had dat gal you see wid me dis mawnin' een Mr. Fitz-Simmon' yaa'd. Him ent wut'!"⁴¹³

Jim Moultrie's conceptions as to conjugality might be improved upon; but they are certainly cycles ahead of Batouala's. It is in the sketches this book contains and in the altogether admirable "Duel in Cummings" that we find the Southern coast country Negro as he is, most observant, not lacking in a

⁴¹²Gonzales, *The Black Border*, pp. 212, 213, 214.

⁴¹³*Ibid.* p. 215.

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homely philosophy, and, as Thomas, the Ohio Negro, noted (altho' utterly lacking it himself) a creature of infinite humor. Whence does he derive it? He seems to lose it to some extent as he moves out of the coast region. But he becomes more efficient. He has benefited immensely by his sojourn in America. He ought to take more interest in his race elsewhere than the cultivated members seem to. It is good for the Negroes of the United States that numbers should continue to move into the Northern and Western States. It is providing a most interesting experiment. The urban Negro dwellers of the great cities of the North and West are furnishing a most interesting illustration of that mysterious power which leads humanity to its betterment. By the Census of 1920, in the great city of New York there were 152,467 Negroes. By the estimates of the Department of Commerce for July, 1923, this had been increased to 183,248.⁴¹⁴ Unless the migratory movement has slowed down as that estimate is for July 1, 1923, the Negro population of New York, today must be 194,445, with that of Philadelphia at 163,248 and Chicago at 148,326. There is no urban Negro population of these figures anywhere in the Southern States. The nearest would be New Orleans where the Negro population may be 107,530. But in addition in the great cities which stretch along and thro' the rich and populous territory between New York and Chicago up to the borders of Canada the Negro population is steadily increasing. Detroit at the very door

⁴¹⁴Department of Commerce, Estimates of population, p. 138.

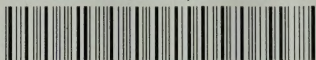
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of Canada holds a Negro population greater than that of any Southern city except New Orleans; for Baltimore is practically a Northern city now.

While the urban Negro population of the Southern States appears to be increasing it is scarcely increasing at the rate at which it is increasing in the great section of the North above described and as has been shown in not a few States of the South the Negro population as a whole is decreasing slightly; while the white population is increasing actively. But the civilization of the Southern whites has been handicapped by the weight of the Negro population which it has carried for a century and more. It should not bear any more than its fair proportion of that load and in the natural movement of the Negroes from the South up to the north central portion of the Union and to some extent into Canada, by the amalgamation of Negroes and mulattoes, a brown people affected by the civilization of these sections, differing in some degrees from the darker Negroes who will more slowly develop in the Southern States, will show in their progress what the North and West can do to improve them. With ever lessening numbers in the South, they will the better respond to their environment, which will be the better for such lessening. The result will be the advance of all to a better condition and a higher plane of thought.

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